Thank you, Bill Simon - *A CPR Editorial*

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2003 • VOLUME 14 • NUMBER 1 • $3.50

Victory Formulas

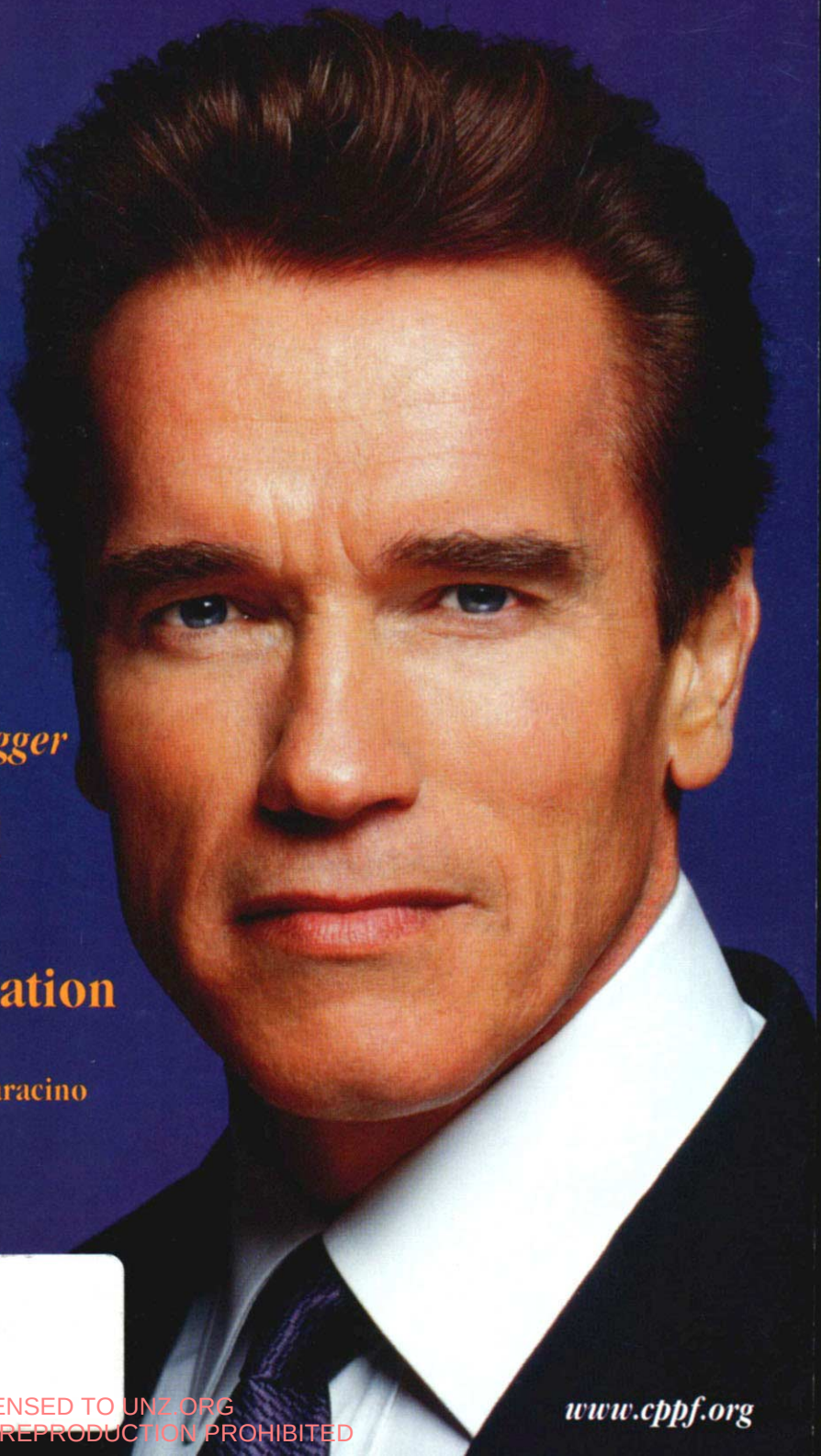
What Gerrymander? *Ray Haynes*

Remembering Don Rogers *H.L. Richardson*

The 'ground war' and other topics

Morton C. Blackwell

Conan .... Terminator .... GOP Standard Bearer?



Two views of Arnold Schwarzenegger

This glass is half full
William E. Saracino

Please, not another coronation
John Kurzweil

Biographical introduction by William E. Saracino

www.cppf.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Opening for Common Sense

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review. — **William A. Rusher**

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State. — **Bruce Herschensohn**

To order, visit our website (www.cppf.org) or call: 1-800-887-7676

or send this form to the address below. Thank you.

Send me a full year of *California Political Review* (SIX bimonthly issues PLUS, every Friday, *Capitol Watch* by e-mail) for the Special NEW SUBSCRIBER rate of just $14.95 — more than 28% off the cover price!

Name _____
Please Print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

E-mail address (Required to receive Capitol Watch) _____

___ Check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) ___ Credit Card: ___ MC ___ Visa

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

Must reading for informed Conservatives

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931, *www.cppf.org*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2003 • VOLUME 14 • NUMBER 1

FEATURES

COVER ARTICLE:

Conan .... Terminator .... GOP Standard Bearer? 23

Two views of Arnold Schwarzenegger

This glass is half full — William E. Saracino

Please, not another coronation — John Kurzweil

Schwarzenegger biographical introduction by William E. Saracino

Victory Formulas *Symposium:* How Parties Win 13

- ***Still* not the end of California history** by John Kurzweil
- **How Republicans took the 80th A.D. and the 12th S.D.** by Ray Haynes
- **Don Rogers, doing the impossible** by H.L. Richardson
- **Unspoken Truths and Thoughts about California** by Morton C. Blackwell

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 11/15/02

Title: California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079). Frequency: Bi-monthly. Six issues annually. Subscription price: $19.95. Location of publication office: 4656 Saloma Ave., Sherman Oaks, Los Angeles County, CA 91403. Contact: John Kurzweil, 805/445-9183. Publisher's Mailing Address: PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Publisher: The California Public Policy Foundation, PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Editor: John Kurzweil, PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Managing Editor: Jan Edwards, PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Owner: The California Public Policy Foundation, PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Publication name: California Political Review. Issue date for circulation data below: Sept/Oct 2002.

Extent and nature of circulation	Avg. copies each issue preceeding 12 months	Actual copies of single issue pub. nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies printed	3076	3098
B1. Out-of-County paid circulation periodicals mail	1725	1853
B2. In County paid circulation, mail	282	288
B3. Paid circulation, Newstands	217	0
B4. Other paid, mail circulation	55	100
C. Total paid circulation	2279	2241
D1. Out-of-County free distribution periodicals mail	288	318
D2. In County free distribution periodicals mail	74	57
D3. Other free distribution by mail	0	0
E. Free distribution, not mail	50	50
F. Total free distribution	412	425
G. Total distribution	2691	2666
H. Copies not distributed	385	432
I. Total	3076	3098
J. Percent paid and/or requested circulation	85%	84%

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2

Sacramento Spectator 3

The Law By Mark S. Pulliam 4

The Front Line 5

Facts about gun control By Sam Paredes 6

Editorial Thank you, Bill Simon 7

Just Once More By Joy Skilmer 8

Those in Power By M. David Stirling 9

Working Press By George Neumayr 11

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus The Criticus Calendar 29

The cure for the secularization of the days of the year.

Books Peter Hannaford's *Ronald Reagan and His Ranch* ..35

A PUBLICATION OF THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

JOHN KURZWEIL
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JAN EDWARDS
MANAGING EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
LEON MCKINNEY • *NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT*
MARK S. PULLIAM • *LEGAL ISSUES CORRESPONDENT*
M. DAVID STIRLING • *REGULATORY ABUSES*
SAM PAREDES • *SECOND AMENDMENT CORRESPONDENT*
GEORGE NEUMAYR • *THE WORKING PRESS*
G.B. TENNYSON • *ARTS & CULTURE*

GENE FOLEY • *BUSINESS MANAGER*
PAUL MCCAULEY • *BUSINESS SERVICES*
SHAWN STEEL • *LEGAL ADVISOR*

EDITORIAL BOARD

JAMES BEMIS, DANIEL J. GRIMM
PETER HANNAFORD, HAROLD JOHNSON
MANUEL S. KLAUSNER, JOHN KURZWEIL
GEORGE NEUMAYR, WILLIAM RUSHER
WILLIAM E. SARACINO, ANDREW ZEPEDA

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $19.95 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add $6/year surface, $20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 2002 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for $19.95 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 4656 Saloma Avenue, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Periodical Postage Paid at Van Nuys, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

CORRESPONDENCE

Times: Simon Coverage Fair

I thought you might be interested in the response from the *LA Times* dated Aug 29, 2002, regarding Simon. I had sent them a copy of *Capital Watch* [*CPR's* weekly sister e-mail publication] of Aug. 8, 2002, as one reason for canceling.

Mrs. Richard Magallon
Glendora

From *The Los Angeles Times:*

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Magallon,

Thanks for your interesting letter and enclosure. Before I address your main points, I want to tell you that I regret losing you as readers. *The Times* bends over backward to be fair and balanced in its political coverage, and I am sorry you perceive a bias.

Many of the details in *Capitol Watch* did not appear in *The Times'* story on the verdict against Simon's firm ("Simon Firm Must Pay $78 Million, Jury Rules, •Verdict: The panel finds the family investment group liable for fraud in a pay telephone deal," by Michael Finnegan, *Times* Staff Writer, Aug. 1, 2002, Part A, Page 1), a relatively short story, at 1,444 words, that confined itself to the news of the day, the verdict itself. If Simon's firm wins on appeal, I can assure you that *The Times* will print the details of that verdict, which may include some of the information you present.

I must respectfully disagree with the implication in *Capital Watch* that *The Times* has taken sides, and that's why the details that *Capital Watch* considers exculpatory did not appear.

If *The Times* is taking sides, how would you account for this article, which appeared two weeks after the Simon lawsuit:

> Despite Warnings, Davis Took No Action Against Metabolife
> •Health: Governor says donations from the weight-loss company were not a factor.
> By Dan Morain, Times Staff Writer
> (Aug. 17, 2002, Part A, Pg. 1)
>
> SACRAMENTO — After accepting $150,000 in political contributions from a California weight-loss company two years ago, Gov. Gray Davis decided the state would await federal action and not advise the public of the possible ill effects of the company's widely marketed herbal diet pills.

Please note that this article contained 2,509 words and was thus much longer than the story on the Simon verdict.

In your letter, you mention that you would like to see "higher standards and better practices." And so would we. The readers' representative office was created in June, 1999, in order to monitor issues of fairness, balance and journalistic ethics at *The Times*. Because you perceive *Times* coverage as one-sided, we will include your observations in our weekly report to editors. Thanks very much again.

Barry Zwick, asst readers' rep.

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

The *Capital Watch* referred to reported 14 specific facts the *Times* ignored, each of which undermined the charges reported by the *Times* against Simon's Company. (For instance, that the plaintiff charged the Simon firm took actions "behind his back" that could only have been done with plaintiff's consent.) The indefensible verdict was duly tossed, but *Times* readers would not have known why from its initial report. Our point was not that the *Times* was "taking sides" with Davis, but that its report misled readers about a preposterous verdict, much as Mr. Zwick's letter misleads about the nature of our complaint. Inaccurate reporting is not "balanced" by slams, for all we know also misleading, against the "other guy." CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Leaving the Simon shipwreck for others to analyze, your *Spectator* will devote this column to crediting Republicans who had successful election nights. GOP Senate Leader Jim Brulte and Assembly Leader Dave Cox overcame a nearly two-to-one overall Democrat spending edge by out-hustling and out-foxing their opponents.

Brulte and Cox worked as a team the last two years, a clearly wise course somehow *not* followed by previous GOP leaders. Brulte/Cox aggressively raised funds nationwide, determined to pick up seats to reverse the legislative GOP decline that began in '96 when the Party lost the Assembly majority.

Cox added two Assembly Republicans with victories in the 78th (Chula Vista Mayor Shirley Horton defeating former Gray Davis aide Vince Hall) and 80th districts (Senator Jim Battin's Legislative Aide Bonnie Garcia beating local pol Joey Acuna, Jr.). Democrats gerrymandered both districts to be safely Democrat. Ooops.

Cox also mounted an impressive defense in the 15th AD where Democrats threw the kitchen sink and the bathtub at former Dublin Mayor Guy Houston, who gutted out a tough win.

Brulte hurled all his might into the candidacy of little-known Jeff Denham's 12th Senate District candidacy. Democrats drew the district expecting former Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza to run there. But when nearby Congressman Gary Condit unraveled, Cardoza ran for his House seat and Democrat powerbrokers put retread Rusty Areias on the 12th SD ballot.

Areias, a former assemblyman who lost six years ago in a senate race to Bruce McPherson, is an opposition researcher's El Dorado. Brulte put Areias' baggage to good use in a bruising campaign that cost $8 million overall, winning despite a 10-point registration deficit.

Lessons of LegCampaign 2002? 1) California *does* have smart, knowledgeable, aggressive Republican leaders, and 2) funded competitively (Brulte/Cox kept it close where they won), savvy, tough Republicans win in California.

* * *

Davis for President? Not likely. His anti-climactic victory created zero enthusiasm for a White House run. Many Davis senior advisers are leaving, including political *alter ego* Garry South. So is Gray a lame duck with no future? Well, his popularity will remain low as the state endures his budget disaster the next 24 months. But then, who knows? Political landscapes do change. Smart money says Davis could make a U.S. Senate run in four years if Dianne Feinstein retires as expected. That gives Bill Simon four years to become wealthier and find new political advisors.

* * *

Early look at '06: neither Bill Lockyer nor Phil Angelides spent much on re-election, so each eyes a possible run for governor $7-to-$8 million ahead of the field. Expect that crowded Democrat field also to include Insurance Commissioner-elect John Garamendi and Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante.

For the Republicans? The early talk is all Arnold. If not Arnold? An impressive Senate run against Barbara Boxer could catapult someone into the front rank. Also, don't assume departing Secretary of State Bill Jones will sit around the ranch the rest of his life.

—A. P. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAW

Leahy's Log Jam is Broken

The grown-ups, back in charge of judicial appointments, may bring relief even to the embarrassing, dysfunctional Ninth Circuit.

MARK S. PULLIAM

For the first two years of his administration, George W. Bush has been denied one of the most important — and enduring — prerogatives of the presidency: the power to appoint federal judges, who serve for life. Ever since Vermont Senator James Jeffords abandoned the GOP in May 2001, handing control of the Senate to the Democrats, the Senate Judiciary Committee has brazenly obstructed Bush's judicial appointments. Under the ultra-partisan leadership of Chairman Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont), the Committee dragged its feet, refused to schedule hearings on Bush's nominees, and even — without historical precedent — denied Senate floor votes to nominees who did not conform to the Democrat Party special interest groups' ideological litmus tests.

All this disappointed conservatives, who were buoyed by the White House's announcement in March 2001 that it would no longer give special consideration to ratings of judicial nominees by the liberal-leaning American Bar Association. Moreover, Bush's initial judicial nominations, announced before Jeffords' defection, indicated that he took the threat of judicial activism seriously and was committed to the appointment of principled judges who would interpret — not make — the law. Bush's early judicial selections included two California candidates for the frequently-reversed Ninth Circuit, a Court dominated by activist Clinton and Carter appointees that desperately needs a dose of judicial restraint to provide some semblance of balance. Unfortunately, one of the candidates — Representative Christopher Cox — withdrew his name from consideration after Democrats took control of the Senate and he met strong opposition from Senator Barbara Boxer. Chairman Leahy made it clear that "home state" senators would have veto power over judicial appointments in their states, a dramatic expansion of the traditional "blue slip" consultation process. Although the Constitution assigns to the president alone the power to select judges, subject only to the "advice and consent" of the Senate, Leahy's interpretation effectively made Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein "co-presidents" for purposes of federal court judicial appointments in California. Harvard Professor Lawrence Tribe, among other liberals, justifies this practice as being no more than taking the Senate's Constitutionally-prescribed role seriously. But Tribe suffers from the usual liberal inability to consider the Constitution in historical context. The Senate, traditionally, "consented" to any presidential judicial nominee not grossly incompetent because, as the Founding Fathers and more or less everyone in those days understood, judges exist to umpire, not participate or take sides in, political contests. Thus, the only relevant consideration about a nominee was whether he knew the law and was honest enough to be trusted to apply it fairly. But liberals believe their own political victory is a cause so noble it justifies *any* means, including corrupt judging — the legal equivalent of a baseball umpire who tailors his calls not to uphold the rules, but to bring victory to his team. In sports, such a referee would quite properly be fired and possibly prosecuted. But in Lawrence Tribe's judiciary, a judge must enthusiastically embrace liberal activism to be considered "competent."

So the Senate's role is turned on its head: honest judges need not apply. Left-wingers Boxer and Feinstein will confirm only corrupt activists. For example, another early Bush Ninth Circuit nominee, Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Carolyn Kuhl, has now been waiting more than 16 months for a confirmation hearing. Judge Kuhl might *never* have been afforded a hearing had the voters not restored order, returning the Senate to Republican control. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) will replace Leahy as Judi-

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRONT LINE

The GOP Good News

The first impulse after an election like 2002 is to blame. Party factions want to blame each other, leadership rivals are tempted to do the same, and the media blames the whole "out-of-touch" Party. But rather than take cues from the media, let's look at what Republicans did right in 2002.

First: Bill Simon came closer to victory than any Californian since 1942 who challenged a sitting governor seeking a second term. Democrat Culbert Olson was the state's last incumbent chief executive turned out by the voters, and he faced an electorate that was 50 percent Republican.

Remember Kathleen Brown? — 1994's Democrat's savior? 15 points ahead of Pete Wilson in January? She lost by 20 points. Tom Bradley lost by 15 in 1986. Evelle Younger, running against Jerry Brown, now known as one of our most inept governors, lost by double digits in 1978. Given that history, a 5-point Simon loss qualifies as a significant achievement.

Second: Davis is governor of the North Coast, Bay Area, and Los Angeles. He lost everywhere else (except in peculiarly-Democrat Imperial County — an interesting story in itself (*See:* Ray Haynes' "It's All About Ideas" page 15).

Republicans should find the California map encouraging. Simon won most of the state's counties, including six in the supposedly impossible coastal zone: San Diego, Orange, Ventura, Santa Barbara (!), San Luis Obispo, and Del Norte. They now know the task ahead: an invasion of Los Angeles and the Coast from Monterey to Eureka, championing personal freedom, economic opportunity, good schools, strong families, and religious liberty — these last two being especially potent for making inroads among Democrat voters. Republicans need not win majorities in Democrat enclaves; shrinking the opposition's victory margin 3-to-5 points — a manageable task — would tip the statewide scales.

Third, GOP legislative losses have stopped. Republican Senate and Assembly gains will force Davis to talk to GOP leaders about California's biggest problem: the budget. Government won't grow much the next few years, mainly because it can't without bankrupting the state. Republicans are poised to make a powerful case to the voters, if they can find the fortitude to make it.

Perhaps the brightest note for the Grand Old Party was the resurgence of grass roots activism in San Diego County, potentially signaling a coming rejuvenation across the state.

San Diego County Party Chairman Ron Nehring described what happened in a post-election report written in the early morning hours November 6: "Thanks to the hard work of more than 1,300 Republican volunteers, during the last few weeks our Party conducted the most extensive San Diego Republican voter turnout program in recent memory. We set a new standard for candidates and the Republican Party establishing a clear division of responsibilities, while at the same time working together to a degree never before seen. We also reconnected hundreds of thousands of Republican voters back with the Republican Party through the Republican Neighborhood Precinct Organization."

Not surprisingly, one of the GOP's two Assembly seat pick-ups occurred in San Diego's 78th district.

CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciary Committee chairman, so this travesty can now be rectified by Hatch giving Kuhl, an exceptionally well-qualified candidate, the prompt confirmation she deserves. Kuhl, who received her undergraduate degree from Princeton University and graduated from Duke University's law school (where she was on the editorial board of the law review), has served as a well-respected trial court judge since she was appointed by Pete Wilson in 1995. Before that, Kuhl had racked up a series of impressive career achievements in private practice: partner with the prestigious Munger, Tolles & Olson law firm, special assistant to Reagan Administration Attorney General William French Smith, deputy solicitor general under Reagan, and clerk for then-Ninth Circuit Judge Anthony Kennedy before Kennedy moved to the Supreme Court. Kuhl received the ABA's highest rating, "well qualified."

Despite her stellar qualifications, Kuhl's nomination went nowhere for 16 months because Chairman Leahy placed the Judiciary Committee under the *de facto* control of left-wing extremist groups such as the so-called People for the American Way (PAW), National Organization for Women, National Abortion Rights Action League, Alliance For Justice, and NAACP. PAW's Ralph Neas's official biography describes him as the "101st Senator."

WITH THE support of Leahy and other radical leftists on the Committee, such as Senator Charles Schumer (D-NY), these groups chose to oppose *all* nominees (and especially appellate court nominees) who would change the existing ideological composition of the judiciary, *i.e.,* anyone *not* a liberal activist. Since the voters don't really agree with Ralph Neas's perverse idea of "the American way" and most of Bush's judicial nominees were principled conservatives, this meant Leahy and the special interest groups had to resort to novel tactics. Besides "borking" individual nominees with a vengeance, Leahy and his minions devised a strategy of gridlock and delay. Even though the federal courts faced a vacancy crisis, Leahy scheduled hearings

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

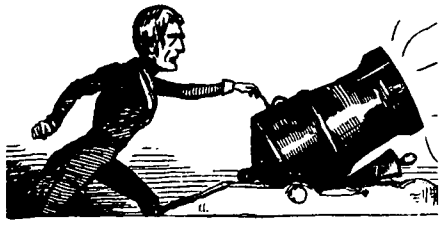
By SAM PAREDES

Ladies and gentlemen, the winner by a knockout and still champion — in the right corner — the Second Amendment. Even though anti-gunners threw left hooks, left jabs, and left upper cuts in elections nationwide, they hit the mat most of the time.

History dictates that a new president's party lose ground his first mid- term elections. But this year, it turned out Bush's opposition was up against the real iron law of American politics: *pro-gun control is a loser.* Bush and many GOP candidates beat history by standing toe-to-toe against Democrats on key issues, especially the Second Amendment.

But don't all the political reporters say California is different? That *pro-gun* is the loser here? Yes, and they're wrong. Most candidates the public saw as pro-gun came out ahead, especially in competitive legislative races. In the 12th SD — the state's only competitive Senate District — Gulf War veteran Republican Jeff Denham *gave away boxes of ammunition to volunteers.* The *LA Times'* George Skelton may demand a recount on this one; not only did Denham win, but arch anti-gunner former Assemblyman Rusty Areias had to overcome a 12-point registration lead and $2 million more to spend to *lose.*

In the 80th Assembly District, anti-gun Democrat Joey Acuna saw an 8 percent registration advantage



avail him *nada* against vocal pro-gun Republican Bonnie Garcia.

In the 30th AD, where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by a slam-dunk 13 points, the GOP's Dean Gardner, who manufactures rifle stocks, will likely end up losing by less than 200 votes to radical Democrat Nicole Parra.

Republicans won even where they down-played their pro-gun leanings. The 78th AD's Shirley Horton beat Democrat Vince Hall by 1,629 votes (1.8 percent). In the 15th AD, Republican Guy Houston's campaign panicked late when an internal Gun Owners newsletter endorsed him. Trial lawyers, enviros, and government unions suddenly blanketed the district with mailers blasting Houston for being in cahoots with GOC: he won by 8 points.

A Christmas prayer: Lord, please let liberals continue keying campaigns on gun control. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIAL

Thank you, Bill Simon

by John Kurzweil

"... the only thing necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing."

— *Edmund Burke*

Later in this issue appear a series of articles examining from various angles Republican activity during the just-completed election cycle intended to glean helpful lessons from it all. That's fine, since the Devil is so often found in the details. However, for all that, no amount of attention paid to campaign mechanics can make up for Californians' failure to produce more good candidates for public office. No, I am not thinking of Bill Simon — contrary to much current wisdom in both parties, I argue that Simon was in many ways an excellent candidate, in fact, exactly what the state needs, and that his candidacy's failings were failings to achieve his potential.

A long, tiresome list of liberal shibboleths hobbles intelligent discussion in this area, as in others. It is considered *gauche,* for instance, in the context of dispassionate political analysis, to consider the *innate,* as opposed to the *superficial,* qualities of candidates: thus Simon was a "bad" candidate because he did not rouse the voters to an enthusiastic pitch; Ronald Reagan, able so to rouse them, was "good" — he won elections.

But of course the real good of Reagan was not his technical competence as a candidate, but a moral good: he gave freely of himself and his talents not selfishly but for the good of his state and nation. He was the polar opposite of the typically self-absorbed politicians both parties routinely trot forward as transparently phony "champions of the people" with their focus group-produced lines endlessly manicured to "resonate" with voters, and to be forgotten after the votes are counted.

Candidate Simon was exactly what California needs because he was like Reagan in this regard. The simplest way to put it is to say *he did not need the job.* From a selfish, materialistic point of view, he is surely better off having lost and thereby being spared the thankless task of trying to clean up the hash current office holders have made of state finance and the economy, of education, transportation, social policy, the law, and so on.

But the most glaring difference between Simon and his opponent was precisely that he approached running not selfishly or materialistically at all. Simon, like Reagan, took on the burden of candidacy not as a matter of self-promotion but to make a contribution.

Again like Reagan, Simon knows that it is in giving that we recieve. Not that he is alone in knowing that. But what sets him apart from millions of other good people in California is that he did something with his moral knowledge. He was one of Burke's "good men," of which there are many, who did not "do nothing," of which, in politics, there are ridiculously few.

A friend of mine recently compared California Republicans awaiting the "next" Ronald Reagan to the New York Yankees of 30-some years ago who kept looking out for the "next" Mickey Mantle, instead of picking up and moving on. The mistake is looking for Reagan's particular *superficial* talents to reappear. They were the peculiar form taken by his innate unselfishness and won't be seen again. But they don't have to be. California should seek the reappearance of Reagan's unselfish willingness to do the *something* that denies evil its triumph. Bill Simon put himself in motion, he did something, and for that, the state owes him its sincere thanks. CPR

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

— or failed to schedule them — with unprecedented procrastination. On the one-year anniversary of Bush's first appellate court nominations, only three of 11 had been confirmed, and two of *those* were Democrats previously nominated by Bill Clinton (but not confirmed), whom Bush renominated as a (futile) gesture of conciliation; hearings had not been set for any of the remaining eight.

LEAHY'S "BLUE SLIP" policy became progressively more egregious; Democrat senators were permitted to veto nominees to entire judicial circuits (which comprise geographic regions covering several states). Hence, Senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.) was given control of the whole Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which includes Michigan. Leahy's Committee, on a 10-9 party-line vote, denied a Senate floor vote to Bush appellate bench nominees Charles Pickering and Priscilla Owen, even though these sitting judges were rated "well-qualified" by the ABA, and even though both would have been confirmed by the full Senate. (Both will be renominated now.) Leahy, bound by neither rules nor his word, refused to allow the Judiciary Committee to vote on one nominee (Dennis Shedd) after promising Republican Senators that he would.

In short, Leahy behaved like a thug and a tyrant. Emboldened by Leahy's "leadership," the alphabet soup of left-wing extremist groups became ever more vitriolic in their denunciation of Bush's nominees. The slightest evidence of deviation from those groups' political agendas (primarily regarding abortion, homosexual politics, and/or racial quotas) elicited hysterical condemnation. Well-organized PR and letter-writing campaigns kept the pressure on the Judiciary Committee's 10-member Democrat majority (including "centrist" Dianne Feinstein), which voted in lock-step as Leahy directed. Few appellate court nominees were confirmed, and even then only after lengthy delays and savage hearings. The backlog of nominees was steadily growing. Leahy's obstructionist strategy was succeeding.

Obviously, Democrats were trying to "run out the clock" to stall as many judicial appointments as possible until Bush left office. The Democrats assumed, with good reason, that they would gain ground in the mid-term elections, strengthening their Senate control, and possibly regaining the House. Fortunately for us, they miscalculated, overplayed their hand, and suffered a backlash at the polls. The American public witnessed Democrat partisanship, arrogance, and gridlock, and didn't like what they saw. Bush railed against the Democrats' treatment of Judge Owen in his whirlwind of pre-election campaigning. The *Wall Street Journal* credited Leahy's heavy-handed tactics with influencing the election in key states. Instead of *losing* strength in Congress, Bush picked up seats in both houses, regaining Senate control.

Leahy's Judiciary reign of terror is finally over. The log jam over judicial appointments is broken. And most importantly, the influence of left-wing extremist groups over judicial appointments has been eviscerated. The surest evidence of this came November 14 when, with Leahy still wielding the gavel, the Judiciary Committee decided to vote on, and approve, two long-delayed Bush nominees: Dennis Shedd to the Fourth Circuit and Michael McConnell to the Tenth. Both were opposed by PAW, *et al.*

These groups will continue to fulminate and bluster, and some liberal Democrats in the Senate (Leahy, Schumer, Ted Kennedy, Carl Levin) may threaten to filibuster in opposition to particular nominees (particu-

Just Once More

It looks right now like Albert Gore
Won't run again in 0 0 4
And that's too bad
For we'd be glad
If we could beat him just once more.

Jimmy Carter would have us disarm.
He thinks nobody wishes us harm.
He's proved once again
What we knew way back when —
He should have stayed on the old peanut farm.

Rush Limbaugh is up to old tricks
Hurling verbal and well-deserved bricks
At Inspector Clouseau,
Who's the man we all know
As weapons inspector Hans Blix.

— by Joy Skilmer*

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www. lynnofziger.com*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

larly if, as is likely, a Supreme Court vacancy opens), but the game is over. The Democrats are clearly spooked, fearing further setbacks in 2004 if they are perceived as "out of the mainstream" on judicial appointments. Bush should take the mid-term election results as a mandate, and stand firm on appointing sound judges who will not legislate from the bench. Bush didn't flinch in the face of Leahy's opposition, and his resolve paid off.

When Orrin Hatch formally takes over as chairman in January, he should make it a priority to process the president's judicial nominations expeditiously, and the Senate should swiftly confirm the many nominees who have waited so long for approval. Among the first candidates to be considered should be Judge Carolyn Kuhl, who will bring much-needed stature and balance to the Ninth Circuit. (Miguel Estrada should also be promptly confirmed for the D.C. Circuit.) California Republicans, who found little to cheer about in the recent elections, can console themselves with the knowledge that in Washington, D.C., the grown-ups are back in charge of judicial appointments, and that with respect to the embarrassing and dysfunctional Ninth Circuit, relief is on the way. CPR

THOSE IN POWER OVER US

A Thuggish Attempt to Stifle Free Speech

California's Supreme Court joins the looney left to deny Nike's right to defend itself in public.

M. DAVID STIRLING

It is rare when a California Supreme Court justice urges the United States Supreme Court to reverse a decision handed down by the state justice's own Court.* That rarity may be exceeded only when the Pacific Legal Foundation and the American Civil Liberties Union urge the same position in a case. But both rarities occurred in *Kasky v. Nike,* a major First Amendment case which, if it is not reversed by the Supreme Court, will profoundly diminish the free speech rights of companies doing business in California, while declaring open season on those companies by plaintiffs' lawyers.

For several decades, escalating costs of doing business, especially the cost of labor, have driven American companies to manufacture their products in other countries where labor is cheaper and government workplace regulation is significantly less burdensome than in the United States. Indeed, if not for those "Made in" labels bearing the names of numerous developing — mostly Southeast Asian — countries, many American companies would have been unable to compete, leaving only wealthy customers able to afford the products sold in the remaining high-end stores and mail-order houses. Wal-Mart, whose millions of dollar-conscience customers have created the nation's most successful retail business, would not exist if many products it sells were not made outside U.S. borders.

Although union and other blue-collar families patronize the Wal-Marts and other retail and catalog businesses whose products bear the "Made in" labels of other countries, hardcore activists have resented this development since it began. If American companies were prohibited by law or consumer sanctions from manufacturing out-of-country, they argue, not only would American workers receive higher wages and benefits, but poor workers in developing countries would not be exploited by multinational corpora-

A former judge, legislator and chief deputy attorney general of California, Mr. Stirling is vice-president of Pacific Legal Foundation, a Sacramento-based public interest legal organization. Through the Free Enterprise Program, of which he is director, PLF goes to court to defend the entrepreneurial spirit of free enterprise. He can be reached at mds@pacificlegal.org *Website:* www.pacificlegal.org

*In her 24-page dissenting opinion frequently characterizing the Court majority's opinion as unconstitutional, Justice Janice Brown makes this comment: "Unfortunately, the majority has forgotten the teachings of H.L. Mencken: 'every human problem' has a 'solution' that is 'neat, plausible, and wrong.'"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions looking only to make a profit for their greedy shareholders. For obvious economic reasons, neither Congress nor consumers are likely to move against foreign manufacturing of goods.

GLOBALIZATION ENCOURAGES the world's governments, businesses, organizations, and peoples to come together in various ways, especially through economic cooperation. One such avenue is the contracting by businesses in "developed" countries for the manufacture of their products in "developing" countries. Such economic relationships are much sought after by governments of developing countries because they provide needed jobs, better and steady wages, and a higher standard of living than their people would otherwise enjoy.

By the mid-'90s, however, "anti-globalization" groups composed of activists, extremists, and anarchists from labor, human rights, anti-capitalism, environmentalism, consumerism, and other such causes, began to mobilize against high-visibility symbols of globalization. In several world cities, thousands of "anti-globalists" have organized and engaged in violent protests against the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and the G-8 heads-of-state, the most recent occurring this past September, in Washington, D.C. So disruptive have these demonstrators been that hundreds of riot police, and even military troops, have been called upon to provide protection.

In 1996, beginning with a "48 Hours" television news program, anti-globalists accused Nike corporation of sweatshop-type practices at its manufacturing plants in China, Vietnam, and Indonesia. (Although Nike's 700 contractor-operated manufacturing facilities in 50 countries hire 550,000 workers, most are in China, Vietnam, and Indonesia.) Although the charge was also levelled at J.C. Penney's, The Gap, and other major corporations, Nike's high-visibility advertising campaign, featuring stars such as Michael Jordan, made it the prime target.

By means of press releases, letters-to-the-editor, letters to university presidents and athletic directors, and full-page advertisements in large-circulation newspapers, Nike defended its corporate "image" by refuting the numerous accusations that it exploited the foreign workers who manufactured its athletic shoes and apparel. Nike also publicized the investigation results of on-site visits to several of its contractor-run facilities by former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young (under a contract with Nike). Young found no general pattern of illegal or unsafe working conditions at Nike's plants in China, Vietnam, or Indonesia, given the norms of the host countries. He even found many employees provided with health coverage and other benefits above and beyond the prevailing norms.

In San Francisco, a community activist named Marc Kasky saw accounts of Nike's Southeast Asian-factory conditions. Speculating that Nike's public statements defending its foreign labor practices contained untruthful information, Kasky asked a high-powered plaintiffs'-attorney friend whether some legal action could be taken in California to force Nike to correct its labor practices in developing countries. In April 1998, Kasky filed a lawsuit in San Francisco County Superior Court on behalf of the public, claiming that Nike's (allegedly) false public statements constituted unfair business practices under California's Unfair Business Practices Act (Business & Professions Code §§ 17200.) Although this hopelessly vague and subjectively-enforced consumer statute is decades old, never before had anyone attempted to use it to pressure a company into changing working conditions for laborers in other countries.

Nike challenged Kasky's suit, arguing that the First Amendment's free-speech provisions protected its right to engage in "an international media debate on issues of intense public interest," and did not require that Nike's public statements be wholly accurate. In dismissing the suit, the trial court found Nike's statements to be protected "noncommercial" speech — similar in nature to "political" speech.

On Kasky's appeal, a unanimous appellate court held that even if Nike's communications were false, as Kasky contended, such statements are protected because, unlike commercial advertising of a company's product, Nike was engaging in "a public dialogue on a matter of public concern within the core area of expression protected by the First Amendment." So traditionally correct was the appellate court decision that many like-minded observers were concerned when the California Supreme Court decided to review the case.

THOSE CONCERNS were justified. In May 2002, the California Supreme Court, in a 4-3 decision, reversed the appeals court, holding that because Nike's public statements defending its overseas labor practices amounted to corporate image-building that might persuade more people to buy its products, its statements were more akin to advertising, making it "commercial" speech. As such, Nike's statements were not entitled to First Amendment protection, but would subject Nike to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's Unfair Business Practices Act. (Sections of the law prohibit not only false advertising, but even truthful statements that have "a capacity, likelihood or tendency to deceive or confuse the public.")

By relegating such speech to unprotected "commercial" status, the state Supreme Court majority has significantly changed California law, with potentially severe consequences for business defendants. Under the state's Unfair Business Practices Act, even a plaintiff who suffers *no* damage himself may trigger the seizure (on behalf of the public) of *all* a company's profits from the sale of its products in California, whenever a jury feels those statements have "a capacity to deceive or confuse the public." Only by remaining completely mute on matters of public policy that relate to its business may companies doing business in California be certain of avoiding this ruling's dire economic impact.

In his strongly-worded dissenting opinion, Justice Ming Chin wrote: "While Nike's critics have taken full advantage of their right to uninhibited, robust, and wide-open debate, the same cannot be said of Nike, the object of their ire. When Nike tries to defend itself from these attacks, the majority denies it the same First Amendment protection Nike's critics enjoy ... (B)ecause Nike sells shoes — and its defense against critics may help sell those shoes — the majority asserts that Nike may not freely engage in the debate .... The majority today refuses to honor a fundamental commitment and guarantee that both sides in a public debate may compete vigorously — and equally — in the marketplace of ideas ... Sadly, Nike is not the only one who loses here — the public does, too."

We can only hope the U.S. Supreme Court will heed Justice Janice Brown's call for reversal. CPR

THE WORKING PRESS

The media's post-election dogmas

For an 18-point loser, Riordan enjoys a surprising reputation in the press.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

Bill Simon's defeat made journalists suddenly nostalgic for the campaigning skills of Richard Riordan. East Coast pundit Andrew Sullivan, for example, looked across America and announced that "Riordan would have won." Perhaps it is too much to expect out-of-state commentators to recall Riordan's campaigning in the primary. His astute moves in that race included insulting California GOP icon George Deukemejian, describing his Party as out-of-touch and anti-minority, dismissing the Party's base as "extremist," and talking about abortion so much it sounded like he was ready to finance one. For a candidate who lost to a political novice by 18 points, Riordan enjoys a surprisingly good reputation with the media as a savvy campaigner.

♣ ♣ ♣

The corollary to the Riordan-as-dynamite-candidate myth is the media-generated notion, already hardened into dogma, that Gray Davis deliberately ran "moderate" Richard Riordan out of the primary so he could run against "conservative" Bill Simon. The facts don't support it, but neither do they matter at this point. The story-line fits too nicely with conventional wisdom.

First, if Davis's ads against Riordan during the Primary helped Simon, the help was inadvertent. Davis officials, shortly after the primary, said they ran the ads because they assumed Riordan would win and wanted to bloody him before the general election campaign began. According to the *Los Angeles Times,* Bill Clinton encouraged Davis to launch an ad campaign against Riordan because Riordan was polling well at the time. Clinton told Davis he had deployed that tactic against Bob Dole during the 1996 Republican primary to good effect. *Simon* did not factor into Clinton's thinking.

Second, Davis did not defeat Riordan in the primary; Riordan defeated himself by running an anti-Republican campaign. It has also been conveniently forgotten by some in the media that Riordan had launched ads against Davis during the primary. Foolishly looking beyond his Republican challengers, Riordan attacked Davis, thereby inviting Davis to attack him. Did Republicans not vote for Riordan because a governor they despised was criticizing him? No, the Davis ads, which depicted Riordan as a waffler, only reinforced what rank-and-file Republicans already knew and disliked about Riordan. Now, to confuse matters even more the *San Diego Union-Tribune* is re-

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porting that Garry South considered Bill Jones the GOP's "best candidate" in the race. So the media's primary myth will need a little more tinkering.

♣ ♣ ♣

The media's avuncular concern for the California Republican Party is touching. They continue to busy themselves with thoughts about its "future," fretting that the Party hasn't been running enough candidates who think like political reporters.

No sooner had Bill Simon lost to Gray Davis than members of the California media began asking hopefully: "Will GOP count on Terminator?" "Arnie in 2006?" The *San Jose Mercury-News* declared that "Schwarzenegger has strengths that have been absent from recent Republican candidates Bill Simon and Dan Lungren, both conservatives who were shunned by Republican Party donors who thought they couldn't win." What are those strengths? At the top of the *Mercury-New's* list is that he "espouses a centrist brand of politics that has proved successful at the polls ... He is pro-choice and favors 'sensible' gun control, including a ban on assault weapons. That could help him to attract Democrats and independents, whose support is crucial to winning statewide races." Translation: He agrees with us, so he is an attractive candidate.

The media's casting of Schwarzenegger as a redeemer for California Republicans is presumptuous and self-serving. But then, if an actor known principally for bringing R-rated violence to children can be labeled an "education activist," as the media labeled him during his Proposition 49 campaign, then surely they can anoint as the next leader of the state GOP a *de facto* Democrat whose Republicanism appears to be as substantial as his movies.

♣ ♣ ♣

Want good press? Tell the media Republicans need to attract women voters. Orange County's liberal GOP group New Majority can always count on a respectful media hearing even after its candidates lose. The *Orange County Register* even makes arguments for the group it hasn't made for itself, as in this November "news" story: "In the wake of the Republican Party's poor state election showing, the Orange County-based New Majority renewed its battle cry for change in the state GOP. One of the group's planks is to attract more women. To do so, the Party needs to back off its opposition to abortion and work more aggressively to groom women candidates, says the manifesto of the group ... What the New Majority didn't include in its news release are statistics that buoy its argument: Exit polls show that Republican Bill Simon beat Gray Davis among men, 47 percent to 42 percent. But the race was decided among women, who backed Davis 52 percent to 37 percent and led the way to Davis's 5 percentage-point margin of victory."

But California Republicans in favor of legal abortion lost badly in November's statewide races. Only Tom McClintock, an unapologetic pro-lifer, came close to winning. But that, of course, won't dim media certitude that pro-abortion is the key to a Republican renaissance. Perhaps those candidates just didn't emphasize their pro-abortion views enough. Or maybe they need to move farther to the social left. Perhaps some hearty soul in the media will now counsel California Republicans to endorse partial-birth abortion. The *San Jose Mercury-News* turned to a Virginian for insight into California's moral direction: "Larry Sabato, director of the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia, said Republicans need to recognize that California has moved left, with most voters supporting abortion rights, gun control, and protecting the environment. What they refuse to accept is that the new California is a liberal state, and it will vote for a moderate but it won't vote for a conservative," he said. "They persist in nominating conservatives and — as long as they do — they will lose."

It would perhaps be an interesting historical research project to try to locate the point at which the media reported the emergence of this "new California," a point before which they acknowledged that California was *not* liberal — a balmy time when the press thoughtfully urged even Democrats to nominate conservatives because, "as long as they nominate liberals, they will lose ...." It must be back there somewhere, or else what makes "the new California" *new?*

♣ ♣ ♣

The *Los Angeles Times* endorsed Gray Davis for governor even as it acknowledged his fanatical devotion to putting himself above the good of the state. The governor's "obsessive pursuit of every last campaign dollar from special interests is unseemly," allowed the *Los Angeles Times* editorial board.

But why should that have stopped them from endorsing him? So what if a candidate thinks of the public good last, as long as he is liberal, right? Schooled in the political philosophy of Ted Kennedy and Bill Clinton, the members of the *Times* editorial board realize that the only really determinative voting criterion is whether or not a candidate supports abortion, gun control, and big government.

Besides, Davis hadn't committed Bill Simon's sin of clumsy campaigning — a failing far more offensive and unpardonable to the liberal media than something as minor as corrupt governance. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Victory Formulas

80th District Assemblywoman Bonnie Garcia

The next 10 pages of this issue are devoted to four articles considering, from a variety of perspectives, the question: How do Republicans win in California? The authors, in order of appearance, CPR *Editor John Kurzweil, Assemblyman Ray Haynes, Senator H.L. Richardson, ret., and, for a national perspective, Morton Blackwell, GOP national committeeman from Virginia.*

JOHN KURZWEIL

A newspaper editor asked me the other day, in light of Democrats' sweep of statewide offices, whether I still believed, as I wrote in "The End of (California) History?" (*CPR,* September/October 2002), that California is "nearly always 'in play'" for Republicans. Of course I do, because November's results in no way contradicted my essential arguments, which were (1) that the notion California is "too liberal" to elect Republicans, especially conservatives, applies a simplistic and unreal, and therefore irrelevant, static model to what is really a thoroughly dynamic state political scene and (2) that Republican success requires more aggressive exploitation of political opportunities that come the GOP's way — Democrats' habit, for instance, of alienating its own base voters by drifting ever further left, thereby providing an endless supply of potential "Reagan Democrats."

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

To that I would add that Republicans must catch up with Democrats in basic political mechanics and that their main obstacle to doing so is continued, misplaced focus on issues — the key word being "misplaced" because the main, proper vehicle for intra-Party issue-conflict resolution is Primary campaigns and elections. But California Republicans have allowed disagreement over Republican issue positions to spill over into the inner workings of the formal state and county Party structures, into general election fund raising, precinct organizing, and other non-ideological elements of winning politics. This has undermined and, in some cases, paralyzed these essential operations, which must be restored to give Republicans their best shot at re-taking the state.

Did November 5's outcomes refute these arguments? No.

ISSUE POSITIONS OR POLITICAL MECHANICS?

On November 7, the *Sacramento Bee* hosted a panel-of-experts discussion, moderated by *Bee* political writer Dan Weintraub, on the topic "how the [2002 general] election was won or lost," publishing an edited transcript November 17. Participants were Gray Davis campaign strategist Garry South, Bill Simon strategist Sal Russo, Field Poll director Mark DiCamillo, Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte; GOP insurance commissioner candidate Gary Mendoza; Democrat political consultant Gale Kaufman (who ran Jack O'Connell's superintendent of public instruction campaign), and Service Employees International Union Executive V.P., western re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gion, Eliseo Medina (who works on voter registration and turn-out among new immigrants and Latinos). Searching this 17,211-word discussion (at: *http://www.sacbee.com/content/opinion/roundtable/v-print/story/5205576p-6214152c.html),* I found — guess what? The words "abortion" and "gun" appear ... not once. No one in this group of highly experienced, top-of-their-craft political professionals (joined by a veteran political journalist employed by the newspaper that covers the state Capitol as part of its hometown beat) so much as mentioned — in the course of their in-depth discussion — the topics routinely, even reflexively identified as the California GOP's Achilles heal.

Instead, these serious strategists of both parties, all possessing intimate knowledge of the campaign, talk about the Simon effort as turning almost exclusively on political mechanics: message formulation and delivery (the only debate over message *content* is between "pay-to-play" vs. the three "Es" — education, economy, energy — not issues that divide Republicans), fund raising, and the timing of funds expenditure — for instance, did Simon wait too long to write his own checks? As Dan Weintraub put it to Sal Russo: "The relatively small margin of defeat puts you and your candidate in the odd position of having to perhaps defend more your tactics and strategy. If you had been blown out, people might have attributed it just to the incumbency and the politics of California. But this margin brings more attention to what a lot of people think were serious blunders in the campaign."

Republicans permit misplaced worry over issues to divert them from political basics.

Russo, for his part, pointed to problems delivering an effective message — problems that stemmed not from the message itself (the message Russo says he *wanted* to send) but from breakdowns in the essentially mechanical areas of fund raising and communications: "... the three issues that we focused on for the last 18 months, the economy and the budget, education and quality of life, meaning affordable, available, energy, water, and roads ..., we found, ... actually moved voters .... [But] we couldn't sustain it in terms of the donor community and the thought that pay-for-play was the issue. We couldn't sustain the earned media because nobody wanted to write about failing schools or deteriorating roads, everybody wanted to write pay-for-play. So as a way, because we were money-short, to be able to keep the campaign visible, we had to take the road that got us some visibility, although we knew it wasn't something that was ultimately going to get us anywhere."

Mark DiCamillo emphasized Simon's failure to capitalize on his post-Primary surge: "... at that moment he could have capitalized because voters were in the mood to be introduced to this new kid on the block, who the Republicans just nominated and the Democrats, most voters, had a very vague impression of who he was. And I think it was in the months between March and April that he seemed to squander it and never recovered his footing .... I never saw an issue or any kind of theme that came out of the Simon campaign that voters could play back, that we could track and say, 'There it goes, that's his campaign theme and it's starting to track and it's starting to break through,' ...."

Garry South voiced a similar criticism of the Simon campaign: "the self-proclaimed candidate of ideas had no ideas," which I take as a criticism of message *delivery,* because the Simon camp, as Mr. South certainly knows, produced reams of specific ideas on policy. These ideas never, however, coalesced in voters' minds, as Mr. DiCamillo said, into a coherent theme.

Russo, after explaining that lack of funds kept the campaign from seizing the immediate post-Primary opportunity, said: "... we never could really build the confidence [among donors and the political establishment] that California was anything but a Democratic state. That was just the conventional wisdom: Bush did as good as you could do, Gore spent no money, Bush spent a lot of money, Bush lost by a million votes, if he can't win here, nobody can win here. And that was really conventional wisdom and we really fought that."

The two key points are plainly in evidence in all this: one, the Simon campaign, both sides say, was hobbled by breakdowns in *mechanical* political basics and, two, these breakdowns, according to Mr. Russo, were caused or at least aggravated by prevailing "conventional wisdom" in the media and donor communities that "California is a Democrat state" — meaning that the liberal predilections of its voters preclude victory by a conservative Republican. Mr. Russo clearly believes this idea is unwarranted and that Simon could have won. Most tellingly, nobody in the discussion stands up for the conventional wisdom. Rather, they all, expressly or tacitly, seem to agree with Russo, including the Democrats and the journalist. In short, misplaced worries about the GOP candidates' issue positions — worries that should have been left behind once the Primary was over so the whole Republican team could devote itself to the *mechanical* jobs that win elections — became self-fulfilling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prophesy: California *is* Democrat, at least at the statewide level, but not because its voters are "too liberal." The real reason is that too many Republicans permit misplaced worry over issues to divert them from political basics.

'If Bush can't win here, nobody can.'

Candidates do not win elections alone. What Bush could not do in 2000 might very well be done even by a weaker candidate better supported by political infrastructure. Consider San Diego County, where GOP Chairman Ron Nehring tells anyone listening that Bob Dole carried the county six years ago by one point, Dan Lungren lost it by three points, George W. Bush won it by four and a half points, and Bill Simon, despite the missteps cataloged above, more than *doubled* Bush's margin with a run-away 11-point victory. What made the difference for Simon? Fifteen months before the election, Mr. Nehring, with the solid backing of his central committee, began to rebuild the county Party's mechanical capacity as a machine for winning elections. As Mr. Nehring wrote in *CPR* (March/April 2002), more than a year ago County GOP leaders "adopted a five-point political plan:

What Bush could not do might be done by a weaker candidate better supported by political infrastructure.

- expand the Republican base through voter registration,
- deliver the Republican base vote to the polls through comprehensive countywide neighborhood precinct operations,
- inspire and rally activists and volunteers throughout the election cycle,
- integrate local elected officials and candidates into the Party, and
- raise sufficient funds to perform these functions.

"By thus clearly defining its tasks, San Diego largely bypassed the ideological divisions paralyzing many county central committees."

What had been missing was neither the "right" candidate nor a different California electorate. The absent element was solid political mechanics, crowded out by "ideological divisions" not relevant to the Party's base purpose. And, as Mr. Nehring found, returning to political mechanics does its own "crowding out" — the "ideological divisions" go away. Suddenly, the tension, animosity, and sheer weariness pervading so much GOP activity and driving away otherwise eager potential activists simply vanished. Where San Diego's monthly Central Committee meeting once could be held in a phone booth with room to spare, now hotel ballrooms are needed to accommodate the enthusiastic throngs.

The California Politics Study Project

The California Public Policy Foundation, publisher of *California Political Review,* has undertaken a new effort: the California Politics Study Project, to look in detail at what California political parties and informal partisan operations, particularly Republican, do that is effective — operations such as we've seen in San Diego. An initial booklet, to be published in January, is already being written under the working title: *How Parties Win.* Contributors to the book, each addressing a specific area of personal expertise, include Ron Nehring, Senate GOP Leader Jim Brulte, Assemblyman Ray Haynes, RNC Western Regional Political Director John Peschong, communications expert Rob Stutzman, and Political Director for the Lincoln Club of Northern California Matt McDonald.

CPR here helps kick off this project with this and the following three short articles, each tackling in different ways the question of how partisan activities can be effective. I recently ran across a quotation from Edmund Burke that captures well the lesson emerging so far from this project: "Nobody made a greater mistake than he who did nothing because he could do only a little." CPR

RAY HAYNES — IT'S ALL ABOUT IDEAS

THIS YEAR'S legislative elections were supposed to be over before they began. We were told Republican legislative leaders had sold out their Party by agreeing to a gerrymander that guaranteed the GOP would keep its existing seats, but at the cost of forfeiting for 10 years all chance of winning any seats away from the solid Democrat majority.

So we were told.

We were told wrong.

Legislative Republicans won three seats, two in the Assembly, one in the Senate, and came within a hair's breadth

Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of winning a third in the Assembly. All wrong and impossible, but it happened.

80TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Redistricting drew the new 80th Assembly District to be "safe" for Democrats, with pre-Primary major party registration tipped 47 to 35 percent against Republicans. But the 80th's registration is also 35 percent Hispanic, a circumstance that, as GOP "strategist" Tony Quinn wrote last January in the *L.A. Times,* offers Republicans an opening wherever it appears. "Twice before," Quinn wrote, "in the 1960s with Ronald Reagan and in the 1970s with Proposition 13, Republicans recovered when Democrats alienated their core constituencies. In the 1960s, it was working-class voters; in the 1970s, it was middle-income homeowners. Will Democrats give Republicans a third chance by alienating Catholics?" They did in the 80th, and, for once, Republicans took full advantage.

Instead of waiting to imitate scared rabbits on cue, Garcia fired first, labeling Acuña the extremist.

Republican 80th AD nominee Bonnie Garcia was a legislative aide to Senator Jim Battin. An intelligent, articulate, conservative Hispanic woman, she got her job by impressing Senator Battin with her persistence in fighting on issues before the Legislature. She pressed the Senator on a matter of great concern to her, and when she was done, Battin offered her a job. When the new 80th's lines were made public in September of 2001, she told Battin she could win the seat. A bold prediction, given its Democrat registration, but Battin knew the candidate, and believed she could do it. He threw himself into her campaign, confidently predicting victory.

Garcia faced Joey Acuña, a Democrat who had run several times in that area, and so had good name identification and a good organization. This time he also had heavy Democrat financial support. In this last Democrat stronghold in Riverside County (and perpetual Democrat stronghold of Imperial County), Acuña should have won. He didn't.

The Garcia camp anticipated that Acuña would follow the standard Democrat playbook, attacking pro-life Garcia as anti-"choice," anti-woman, extremist — emptying the vituperative bag, a stunt that almost always panics the Republican into diving for the nearest foxhole, hoping it will just blow over. Then Democrats close in, hammering the hapless Republican, talking about "choice," but really using their opponent's timidity — hardly an inspiring trait in a would-be leader — to finish him off.

Only ... Garcia never read the playbook, and neither, apparently, did Jim Battin, or else they threw it out. Instead of waiting to imitate scared rabbits on cue, they fired first, turning the tables on Acuña, labeling *him* the extremist, informing voters, in Spanish and English, that Acuña believes 12-year-old girls should be able to abort their babies without parental consent, or even knowledge, and that he supports "same-sex" marriage — positions few Californians, and even fewer Hispanic Californians, support. Local pro-life groups independently distributed flyers telling voters Acuña backs partial birth abortion. Suddenly, it was Democrats' turn to fluster and panic. They accused Garcia of wanting to put women and doctors in jail; a ridiculous, baseless charge. Republicans answered with a spot first showing a television set playing the Acuña attack ad, then showing Garcia stepping in front of the TV saying "Enough" and setting the record straight. The sequence exposed Acuña as both extreme and irresponsible. His campaign, evidently having had "enough," pulled its attacks on the life issue. (The Garcia campaign's TV spots can be seen at the campaign website: *www.bonniegarcia.com)*

On election day, farm worker union thugs reportedly appeared at polling places in Imperial County, "advising" Latino voters how to mark their ballots and, in one case, actually telling a young white female poll worker she was "not needed," scaring her into leaving.

But for every Democrat trick, Garcia was ready, anticipating her opponents' moves, meeting them, and conveying an unapologetic conservative message about the issues that concerned her district. The 80th AD is about two-thirds Riverside County and one-third Imperial County. Its most heavily-Democrat section is Imperial, yet Garcia, who carried both county portions, actually won with a *higher* victory margin in Imperial than in Riverside. Tony Quinn, take note. Incidentally, Imperial is so Democrat it is the *only* county south of Monterey/San Benito except Los Angeles *not* won by Bill Simon.

REPUBLICANS ALSO picked up a seat in the 78th AD, a completely different kind of district won by a completely different — "moderate," "pro-choice" — kind of Republican woman, Shirley Horton. The moral in both 78th and 80th ADs is that superficial conventional wisdom should be discarded. Winning requires looking honestly at the local situation: the voters, the candidates, the mood of the times, everything relevant, then constructing a comprehensive, effective, dynamic campaign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effort that matches the candidate with a target electorate large enough to win and proceeds to articulate that electorate's concerns straightforwardly and powerfully.

12TH STATE SENATE DISTRICT

That formula was also followed in the GOP's third legislative gain: Jeff Denham's capture of the 12th state Senate District. Denham took on a veteran politico and pulled off an enormous victory in a part of the state that has not elected a Republican in modern California history.

Pre-primary polling showed that while Denham could take the seat in the fall, his GOP Primary opponent, former Assemblyman Peter Frusetta, could not. Denham's March primary victory pitted him against former Assemblyman Rusty Arieas in the general. Like Bonnie Garcia, Denham was a solid conservative in a Democrat-leaning district. The standard *Republican* playbook, in this situation, says: lose the conservative values; be a moderate. Denham said no. He fought a conservative campaign with a conservative message: on education, back to basics; on the environment, responsible policies; on tax-spend-regulate, smaller government with lower taxes.

Denham won where no Republican has been elected in modern California history

In addition to avoiding the too-often seen GOP preemptive retreat from its own basic positions, the Denham campaign became a comprehensive political endeavor including all the basic, mechanical elements necessary to win. Special credit here belongs to Board of Equalization Member Dean Andal who for years has organized and inspired a massively successful grass roots Party building operation based in Stockton — not within the 12th SD — but extending into the 12th district population centers of Modesto (Stanislaus County) and Merced (Merced County). Since 1996, the Republican/Democrat registration gap in Stanislaus County has narrowed from more than 13 points (50.2 D to 37.13 R) to less than four points today (45.44 D to 41.82 R). In Merced County it has narrowed from more than 16 points (51.46 D to 35.31 R) to about seven and a half points (48.51 D to 41.05 R) today.

This dramatic GOP registration surge was reflected Nov. 5: while Denham was losing in the Monterey and San Benito counties' portions of the 12th by about 8,500 votes, he swept to an approximate 10,000-vote victory in Stanislaus and Merced, with an additional victory margin of some 700 votes in Madera County's section of the district. It all added up to a win of about 2,000 votes overall.

Denham's campaign developed its tactical plan, had enough money to implement the plan, and stuck to its conservative message. But it also built on the long-term commitment of local Republicans to build their Party, a foundation impossible to produce in one season. This balance of long- and short-term planning and of one candidate's immediate objective with the broad, lasting interests of the people of the district proved a block-buster Democrats could not overcome.

Political campaigns include a variety of elements: a candidate, money, volunteers, strategy, ideas, and some luck. All are usually required for a winning campaign. A good candidate with insufficient money is a lost opportunity. Lots of money with a mediocre candidate is a waste. Volunteers without money *or* a candidate they can trust breed frustration and anger in party ranks. A party, candidate, or campaign without good ideas is simply an annoying pursuit of power for power's sake. And in some campaigns, things just have to break your way to win. All of these elements work together for a winning candidate, and, in 2002, all the cylinders were firing for legislative Republicans.

It is difficult to overstate just how much legislative Republicans accomplished against huge odds: after the 2000 election, they faced a daunting redistricting plan, a hostile political and media environment — "California is a one-party state" — and an immense fundraising challenge. As the political season started, Democrats were already counting their 54-vote Assembly and 27-vote Senate super majorities. They thought complete control of Sacramento was theirs.

But they lost, and lost badly — to Shirley Horton in the 78th AD, Bonnie Garcia in the 80th AD, Jeff Denham in the 12th SD, and to the generous, hard-working Republicans of the whole state who thwarted them. HPW

H.L. RICHARDSON BAILING WIRE AND CHEWING GUM

It has been said "Give Americans bailing wire and chewing gum and they can fix anything". But then, there are those who moan: "Oh, what can one person do?" We've all heard that one, too often in fact. What can one person do, especially if they're a freedom-loving American? The correct answer is ... *plenty.*

Let me give you an example of a bailing wire and chewing gum geologist by the name of Don Rogers. In 1972, the Ba-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kersfield, California, City Council imposed a utility tax upon the residents. The new tax wasn't needed — the city fathers thought it would "be nice" to have the additional revenue. Their cavalier attitude got under Don Rogers' skin, but he didn't whine "Oh ... what can one man do?" Don ran for City Council. It did not matter to him that the incumbent had been elected many times and was considered a popular city official. He'd voted for the utility tax. That was that. Rogers raised only a few contributions for his maiden trip into politics. Instead, he campaigned the hard way, by wearing out shoe leather — door to door, house by house, contacting every homeowner in a ward of more than 10,000 people, with one message, one promise: "Vote for me and I'll get rid of the utility tax."

Nobody gave this political unknown a ghost of a chance to win, neither the press, nor his opponent, nor the local political pundits.

On Election Day, after Don's two teenaged sons and their friends finished school, they manned all of the precincts. They checked to see who had not yet voted as the day wore on. They phoned them, asking for their vote for Don Rogers. Some of his teen helpers made as many as 150 phone calls before the polls closed.

At his first City Council meeting, Don introduced the bill to abolish the utility tax.

AFTERWARDS, THESE 13- and 14-year-old volunteers gathered at the Rogers home to share a batch of Marilyn Rogers' fried chicken while watching the election returns roll in. It wasn't long before the local TV station called to congratulate Don and invite the new city councilman down for an interview.

At his first City Council meeting, Don introduced the bill to abolish the utility tax. He'd lobbied the council majority and had gained the necessary votes. Bakersfield's utility tax was no more.

But this isn't the end of the story. Don did so good a job as councilman that when a state Assembly seat opened in 1978, the business community and his constituents encouraged him to run for it. Don was hesitant, until he remembered his recent property tax bill. It had risen 40 percent in one year. Taxes were too high and going higher. Don thought he might be able to do something about it in state government.

The race wasn't easy. Registration was heavily Democrat and Don is a conservative Republican. He relied on the same technique that won the city council race: hard work and volunteers.

What follows is in Don's own words: "While campaigning for the election, everywhere I went, people complained about an unfair, cruel tax that was literally destroying them financially. They had already been fully taxed on everything they had earned, and then, because of a death in the family, the tax collector was knocking on the door before the funeral service was over. I made a campaign promise that, if elected, I would try to eliminate the California State Inheritance and Gift Tax.

"I was elected to the Assembly in November 1978. At a breakfast meeting in a restaurant across the street from the Capitol, the first week of January, the Assembly Republican leaders asked all the newly elected Republicans what their plans were for introducing bills. When my turn came, I told the group I was going to fulfill a campaign promise and introduce a bill to abolish the California State Inheritance and Gift Tax.

"Immediately, the leadership said my idea was a bad one, that all previous attempts had failed, and that I would do nothing more than embarrass the Assembly Republicans. However, being newly elected by voters from my Bakersfield district, not from Sacramento, and being 'politically incorrect,' I told the two Republican leaders I had already drafted the bill and, after the breakfast meeting, I was going to the Assembly Desk and introduce it.

"Most of the *members* at the breakfast meeting thought the bill was a good idea. [It was just two weeks later, that Assembly Republicans replaced the two leaders.]

"Unfortunately, both the California State Assembly and State Senate were controlled by Democrats, and all committees were stacked with a majority of Democrats who were always hungry for more, not less, tax revenue, so my bill was immediately killed at the first meeting of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.

"I introduced the bill again, with slight changes, each year for the next two years and it was killed each time.

"In the spring of 1981, I decided to try and qualify an initiative for the ballot, but first I had to raise some money. I

H.L. Richardson served in the California Senate from 1966 until 1988, establishing five major political action committees, two of which remain key forces in California and national politics. He has written books on politics, a series of western novels, and hundreds of regularly-published newspaper columns. For a detailed look at Sen. Richardson's service to the conservative cause, see: "Plan of Action for a Grand Old Party," CPR, May/June 2002.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contacted farm groups, ranchers, dairymen, business groups, and made speeches all over the state and started raising funds So, armed with $200,000, we began organizing committees in almost every county in the state.

"With the help of the Pacific Legal Foundation, estate planners, and bank attorneys, I wrote and rewrote the initiative about 20 times until I felt confident the wording would withstand all challenges.

IN LATE summer of 1981, we received the title and summary of the initiative from the Attorney General's office, and immediately printed 500,000 petitions and distributed them to the county committees. We had 150 days (5 months) to collect 473,000 valid, registered voter signatures. In four months, we collected almost one million signatures, all with volunteer labor, and qualified the proposition for the June 1982 ballot.

"I then raised another $200,000 by direct mail to pay for television and radio ads to get people to vote for Proposition 6. The people responded, and on June 8, 1982, voted to eliminate the Inheritance and Gift Tax by a two-to-one majority.

"As expected, Proposition 6 was immediately challenged in court by the big spenders, but due to the careful wording, the Court ruled in our favor.

[In 1986, the people of Bakersfield and surrounding area elected Don Rogers to the state Senate.]

"In 1987, when the state needed more revenue to balance a bloated budget, the Democrat-controlled Revenue and Taxation Committee desperately searched for ways to increase taxes and create new taxes by passing bills.

"The word got to me by way of the 'grapevine' in the state Capitol that the Committee had placed on the table the idea of legislatively reimposing the Inheritance and Gift Tax, even though only five years earlier, the people had overwhelmingly voted to eliminate these taxes.

"I called the Committee Consultant for the Senate Revenue and Taxation committee and asked him if the committee was planning to reimpose these taxes. He said that it was being considered. I told him to get a copy of Proposition 6 that was now law and read it, because I wrote it, and that I put in a clause that said, 'The only way this tax can be reimposed is by a majority vote of the people in a general election.' There was a 10-second pause on the other end of the line, and then he said 'Oh, Senator Rogers, I now recall that you are right.' The next day, I heard by way of the 'grapevine' that the idea of reimposing the Inheritance and Gift Tax had been taken off the table."

Since 1982, elimination of the State Inheritance Tax has saved California families more than fifty billion dollars.

So you see what one able, soft-spoken American can do. Don Rogers did the impossible: set up volunteer committees in practically every county, cris-crossing the state, time and time again. In so doing, he qualified a state ballot in less than four months, collected more than a million signatures — and all with volunteers.

We still have the national Inheritance Estate Tax but we Californians are free of the onerous state tax that was euphemistically called the ghoul tax, the grave-robbers tax, the loot-the-coffin tax, and of course, the death tax. Since 1982, elimination of the State Inheritance and Gift Tax has saved California families more than fifty billion dollars. That's right — *$50,000,000,000.* That's one five and ten zeros. Thanks to the leadership of this one man.

Don's thoughtful and successful bailing wire and chewing gum approach to politics should inspire all candidates who wish to make changes in our government. It should also inspire the voters — knowing that there are some people in politics that aren't pontificating baboons. He'd made a promise to his constituents and kept it.

How did he do the seemingly impossible? He started close to home, built a base of constituent support and a good reputation on the local level. He then became the logical candidate to move up the political ladder, from councilman to the Assembly to the state Senate. The journey took 24 years, from 1972 to 1996, when he retired from public office. There *are* honorable, conservative people in politics, but we need more; those willing to emulate Don Rogers. (P.S. Don was a 100 percent vote on all Second Amendment issues.) OFR

MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SOME GENERALLY UNSPOKEN TRUTHS and SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT CALIFORNIA

I GREW UP in Louisiana, where politics provide an unending series of embarrassments to decent people. Sometimes it seems there as if the expression "crooked politician" is redundant. In Louisiana, politicians like Bill Clinton are a dime a dozen. Some achieve almost total

Morton C. Blackwell is Republican National Committeeman from Virginia. These remarks, with minor updating for this publication, were delivered February 8, 2002, to the California Republican Executive Committee meeting in Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power over state government. Historically, a great many people in Louisiana have had a fascination with audacious rogues. Public figures such as Jean Laffite, the pirate in the early nineteenth century, Reconstruction Republican Governor Henry Clay Warmouth, Governor and Senator Huey Long, his brother, Governor Earl K. Long and, most recently, Governor Edwin Edwards often achieve and retain wide popularity.

Bill Clinton is cut from the same cloth. He appalled good people across America because, not only did he behave shamefully, but he showed no shame. And he brazenly showed no respect for the law. Worst of all, he built and retained a wide popularity. America, welcome to Louisiana politics.

Fortunately, the people of Virginia, where I have lived for the past 30 years, have retained much of our state's tradition of politics as a noble, civic responsibly — the tradition of Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, James Madison and James Monroe.

The conservative principles of liberty, honesty and personal morality still thrive in Virginia, and generally prevail there. Bill Clinton never carried the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Of course, all over America there are honorable Americans, men and women who support the principles of free enterprise, limited government, strong national defense and traditional moral values — citizens for whom politics is not based on greed and envy — citizens for whom politics does not constitute their personal avenue for amassing wealth and power — citizens for whom identity politics means only our common American identity.

Such people live in every state. I even know of a few who live in the District of Columbia.

Without many exceptions now, such people in America identify with our Republican Party.

Jean Laffite

Many people in Louisiana have had a fascination with audacious rogues.

MY FRIEND Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform, recently told me the Democratic Party is now composed of two wings: the socialist wing and the weird-sex wing. It was not always so, but today neither wing offends most of academia or most of the major news media.

I'm here today, though, to discuss aspects of our Republican Party.

First, I'll share with you what I believe are some rarely spoken truths about the Republican National Committee, where, in terms of seniority, I rank number 15 out of 165.

Then I shall offer some observations about the relationship between parties and elected politicians.

Finally, I'll make some comments and even venture to offer some advice regarding the California Republican Party.

First, nine truths about the National Committee:

1. The RNC is composed of three members from each state, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. territories — 165 members in all — from each state: the state party chairman, a national committeeman and a national committeewoman.

2. The RNC is not a very deliberative body. We generally meet only twice a year. Membership turns over rapidly for most members, so most members don't get to know most other members well.

3. Very few matters are actually decided by the RNC members themselves. One can serve on the RNC for four years without ever participating in a close vote.

4. On occasion, specific political consultants dominate an RNC chairman's administration.

5. RNC chairmen often rely almost entirely on staff to make policy decisions for the RNC.

RNC Budget Committee members, for example, report that they make few, if any, changes in the program spending proposed by the staff, because the alternative is to appear to be opposing the national chairman.

6. Only fear of troublesome criticism restrains some national party chairmen from accumulating all power and exercising micro-management.

7. In our Party, as in the other Party, incumbent presidents tend to want to have complete control of every aspect of national committee activity.

8. Presidents get who they want as RNC chairmen. Our new RNC chairman, Gov. Mark Rasicot, was named by the president and elected unanimously. In fact, if a Republican president named, say, James Carville as RNC chairman, Carville would certainly be elected, albeit not unanimously.

9. In sum, although the Republican National Committee raises and spends literally hundreds of millions of dollars, an individual RNC member has little intrinsic power.

It's not a job. It's a volunteer position, and like most volunteer positions, it's primarily what one makes of it.

Next, a few observations about parties and elected politicians at the state level.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The relationship between party organization and elected state and local officials is, in practice, very different from that between a president and the national committee.

Not that elected state and local officials don't want to make party organizations at their levels wholly owned subsidiaries. Many certainly do want complete control of party organizations. Many try hard to achieve this, but often they do not succeed.

In Louisiana, for example, to overturn a state Party chairman, a Republican governor got the state Legislature to pass a law giving all the Party's state legislators voting membership on the state central committee. The Party leadership overturned the law in the courts, and the Party chairman completed his term.

In a Mid-Western state, a well-organized and highly effective state party chairman so successfully resisted a governor's move to replace him that subsequent Republican governors of the state have decided not to mess with that well-run state Party organization.

Unlike in California, in most states local elections are partisan contests. So there may be many locally elected Republican officials. Some of them strive, sometimes successfully, to put their chosen people in control of party organizations.

When an elected official fails in an attempt to take over a party organization, the official may try, some times quietly but some times not so quietly, to starve the party organization by discouraging mayor donors from making financial contributions to the party organization.

It's easy enough for an elected official to set up alternate organizations to receive and spend political money.

Sometimes I have seen elected officials take control of a party organization and still try to starve the party financially.

I suppose it's simply a manifestation of human nature. After winning election largely through the efforts of a party organization, elected officials often conclude that the party's principal or even sole purpose thereafter is to serve their personal and political interests.

On the other hand, the volunteer activists in a political party, certainly in the Republican Party, tend to be motivated primarily by principles and policy interests not necessarily tied to any individual.

Many of these volunteers, whose efforts are essential to election victories, were active before the rise of the current officeholders and fully intend to remain active long after the departure from office of those elected officials.

Renewed focus on the 'ground-war' resulted last year in the Republican capture from the Democrats of a congressional seat in a special election in Virginia.

For most volunteer party activists, the Party is a means to ends that transcend any personality.

This perhaps inevitable, certainly universal tension between the interests of elected officials and those of activists at the grassroots of the Party produces a lot of political drama.

Lest there be any doubt, let me tell you my lifelong position on these matters.

I believe that, in a healthy political party, power should flow mostly from the bottom up rather than from the top down. Where possible, we should avoid concentrations of unchecked power in party organizations as well as in government.

Where a contest for party leadership naturally arises in the grassroots, the party may benefit and grow in strength.

Where a contest for control of the party proceeds from the top down, volunteer activists are shut out of the decision. If they are not actually purged for not doing as they were instructed, many of them drop out, thus weakening the party, the principles for which it stands and its chance of future election victories.

Finally, I'll venture a couple of thoughts about California. And I hope you'll pardon me if and when I step on any toes.

1. California shares a problem shared by the other states: Domination of campaign financial decisions by political consultants, often highly paid, who warp campaigns' expenditures toward commissionable advertising. Not surprisingly, the consultants get those commissions.

This results in little or no voter registration drives, precinct organization, mobilization of allied groups, student organization, get-out-the-vote organization, ballot security or other non-commissionable campaign expenditures every good campaign should have.

Fortunately, starting in 2001, the Republican National Committee and other national GOP committees have begun to focus on this problem.

This renewed focus on the "ground-war" aspects of modern campaigning resulted last year in the Republican capture from the Democrats of a congressional seat in a special election in Virginia. I expect this change from exclusive reliance on commissionable "air war" campaign expenses to continue, despite the stubborn resistance of financially interested campaign consultants. You should do all you can to restore in Cal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ifornia the application of Republican, people-oriented campaign technology for which your state was once justly famous.

2. Your California political system is designed to cripple political parties.

It's almost as if your laws were designed by people who would have liked to make it a felony to participate in a political party organization.

Failing that, they created a system which makes it as difficult as possible for parties to function in the democratic process.

CALIFORNIA'S POLITICAL structure does not cripple well-funded, non-party political interests on the left, but it does reduce greatly the use of the Republican Party as the vehicle for the majority coalition which produced Republican political victories nationally in the 1994 congressional elections and in the years since then.

The anti-party structure of California laws may have been warranted in the days of massive, corrupt party patronage machines. But no longer. Now the system has largely destroyed California citizens' rights to associate and act together in a free and meaningful political party of their choice. One encouraging sign is the recent end of the prohibition against party endorsements of candidates in California local elections.

Statewide Virginia often holds huge, enjoyable state conventions with 5,000 to 10,000 delegates.

3. I understand that your county party leadership is elected, basically, by the grassroots.

But your state party, in structure but not in operation, is the least democratic in the entire country.

Perhaps having state legislators and legislative candidates name your state party committee is the result of a successful grab for party power by elected officials long ago. California's restrictive campaign finance laws, drafted by Democrats, do include some "loopholes" for parties. This provides an incentive to legislators to seek to gain greater control of party committees because that means personal control of larger sums of donors' money.

But that structure definitely makes state party control a matter of inside politics, targeted and manipulated too often from the top.

How can grassroots Californians feel they have a say in your Party at the state level?

You could certainly increase participation in the California Republican Party, and increase your state Party's legitimacy, if you adopted a different system for election of your state committee — perhaps by electing members from each Assembly district or from each congressional district, by a convention of registered Republicans or by a primary vote.

Such a change would inhibit any tendency toward frequent power grabs and changes imposed from the top. State committee members would more often reflect the views of the many constituents who elected them, rather than do as they are told by politicians high in the state power structure.

You would not have to hold small party conventions at the local or state levels. Large conventions greatly increase the number of grassroots party activists in Virginia, for example.

Virginia holds congressional district party conventions with thousands of voting participants. Statewide, Virginia often holds huge, enjoyable state conventions with 5,000 to 10,000 delegates.

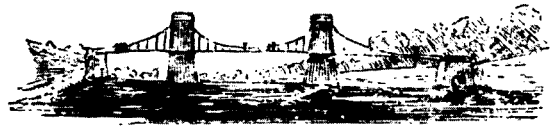
Twice Virginia has conducted successful state party conventions with over 14,000 actual delegates present. And these conventions all make money for the party committees.

In a healthy party, grassroots Republicans know they ultimately make the decisions regarding control of the Party. But not in California now.

HOW COULD one persuade a state committee largely named by state legislators to replace itself with a system where grassroots Republicans elect your state central committee? I must leave that difficult problem in your hands.

But as Edmund Burke, the great philosopher in action, once said, "When reform is necessary, it is necessary to reform."

Thank you for the opportunity to address you today. CPR



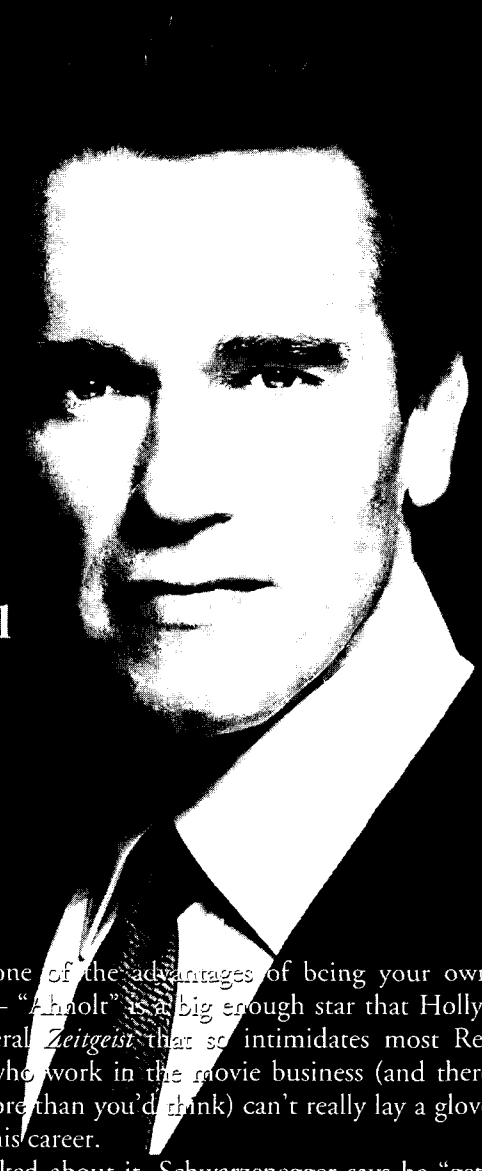
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Conan .... Terminator .... GOP Standard Bearer?

Two views of Arnold Schwarzenegger

William E. Saracino and **John Kurzweil**

Biographical introduction by William E. Saracino



Talk of a possible 2006 Arnold Schwarzenegger gubernatorial run on the Republican ticket has already become a common topic of conversation in political circles following the easy victory of Schwarzenegger's Proposition 49 November 5. Former top Pete Wilson aide George Gorton, who handled the Prop. 49 campaign, will tell you, if the subject comes up, that "Arnold Schwarzenegger is not a candidate for governor" — for the present at least. And, with most of four years to go before the next gubernatorial primary and at least two and a half years before the start of serious campaigning in that race, it is 'way too early to reach any conclusions about potential candidates. Still, with the possibility making the rounds, it is a good time to begin answering the question: who is Arnold Schwarzenegger?

Native of Graz, Austria, naturalized American citizen, and Hollywood superstar, Arnold Schwarzenegger has, for some time, had a political profile, though it was a small part of his public persona. As far back as the Reagan presidency he was making appearances at GOP events. He actively campaigned for President Bush I, both in 1988 and 1992. He was visible on the campaign trail in 2000 for President Bush II.

He has never taken a real up-front, day-in-day-out partisan role in these campaigns, but he was clearly visible, obviously not worried about damage that his GOP identification might do to his career. That, of course, is one of the advantages of being your own franchise — "Arnold" is a big enough star that Hollywood's liberal *Zeitgeist* that so intimidates most Republicans who work in the movie business (and there are a lot more than you'd think) can't really lay a glove on him or his career.

When asked about it, Schwarzenegger says he "gets along with everybody," a view reinforced by most media reports. One thing that jumps out from press reports is that he is liked by just about everyone he works with or meets. He says he and Hollywood's dominant left have a "live and let live" attitude when it comes to his business. I think he is giving the left too much credit, and too little to his own political perseverance. If liberals in the entertainment business thought they could intimidate him into changing his views, they would surely try. And, since they are unable to change his views, they would most certainly keep projects from him if they thought they could do *that*. But because they know they can affect neither Schwarzenegger's politics nor his marketability, they don't try.

So even though politics was just a sideline, Schwarzenegger has been one of the few identifiably Republican mega-stars in Hollywood's firmament. Now, with the 2002 election and his sponsorship of Proposition 49, politics has gone from sideline to major story line in his life. Schwarzenegger was born in

William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *editorial board.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Austria in 1947 (the Internet lists two home towns for him, Thal and Graz, which sound more like names of Frodo's companions in *Lord of the Rings).* His father, Gustav, was once a military officer who later became police chief. His mother was a house wife. They lived above the police station where his father worked, and, though his father was chief, the family apparently lived in relative poverty.

Arnold had a brother, Meinhard, one year older, who, in his 20s, died in a car accident. A Schwarzenegger biography on the Internet describes he and his brother as being raised in "a very strict Catholic home." Training for the local soccer team, he began lifting weights and discovered he had a passion for it. When he was 18, to help himself bulk up, he joined the Austrian army knowing that he'd eat fresh meat every day.

The army's red meat and Arnold's hard work soon made him a weight lifting stand-out, and once got him into trouble. To compete in a Mr. Junior Europe contest, Schwarzenegger skipped base, an escapade that earned him the title and a stint in the base brig. He continued to lift, winning his first major title in 1967, finishing first in a Mr. Universe competition. He went on to win four more Mr. Universe competitions and the Mr. Olympia title six years in a row. During this streak, he was dubbed the "Austrian Oak." More verbosely, the Guinness Book of World Records calls him "The most perfectly developed man in the history of the world."

Some time during this period, Schwarzenegger began considering an acting career. He won a role, with his voice dubbed, in a 1970s' film, long forgotten — at least by me: *Hercules Goes to New York,* which might make a title for a Rudy Giuliani biography. Achieving something less than stardom with Hercules, Schwarzenegger realized he would have to find a way to support himself while waiting to become a hit in Hollywood. He started a mail order business, bought some real estate, and earned a bachelors degree in business and international economics at the University of Wisconsin.

Schwarzenegger first began generating prominent

Two Views of Schwarzenegger

This glass is half full

William E. Saracino

I began this assignment as a skeptic with several concerns. But reading as many as I could of the 152,000 (!!!) "hits" that came up when I typed "Arnold Schwarzenegger" into the "Google" search engine, and chatting with George Gorton, allayed many of my concerns. First, it is far from certain that Schwarzenegger *will* run. And if he does, while it remains far from certain that conservatives should rush to support a Schwarzenegger candidacy, my reading and talk with Mr. Gorton left a clear impression of a likable *potential* candidate teamed with an experienced, knowledgeable manager, neither carrying an axe to grind with conservatives.

Red flags for conservatives include press reports of Schwarzenegger calling himself "very liberal" on social issues and the fact that virtually all Prop. 49 campaign staff were veteran Wilsonites. The press stories that carried the "very liberal on social issues" line quoted Schwarzenegger saying he was "pro-choice," in favor of "reasonable gun controls," and had no problem with homosexual adoption. Gorton says Schwarzenegger, using the term "very liberal," was describing a label others put on him, not his own view of his positions. Gorton is unsure exactly where the potential candidate stands on life issues (Gorton did not know Schwarzenegger's stand on partial birth abortion), or what he meant by "reasonable" gun controls. Gorton readily admitted the devil is in the details here. My definition and Sarah Brady's of "reasonable" gun control are poles apart. These blanks must be filled in if this candidacy develops. During my "Google"-reading marathon, I found the quote about homosexual adoption. Schwarzenegger did not say he favored it, but that "gay" adoption was not the real problem facing kids compared to growing up in dysfunctional single parent or no-parent households — a debatable but not untenable point.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

notice with 1977's *Pumping Iron,* a documentary on life as a weight lifter. His real silver screen breakout came in 1982 with *Conan the Barbarian.* Panned by critics but a box office success, *Conan* made Schwarzenegger a marketable commodity. Mega-stardom came with 1984's initial *Terminator.* The third in the series is now in post-production, set to premier this spring. He's also played everything from a pregnant man to a "kindergarten cop" and Danny DeVito's twin brother, but *Conan* and *Terminator* define him in audience's minds.

In 2002, he came to California's political forefront as originator and chief spokesman for Proposition 49, a $550 million "after school" program for kids that attracted bi-partisan support. Democrats supported it because they like anything that spends other peoples' money. GOP elected officials (including conservative Congressmen Chris Cox, Dana Rohrabacher, and Ed Royce), law enforcement, the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, and the National Tax Limitation Committee, supported 49 as a way to fight juvenile crime.

The measure passed easily with a 900,000-vote victory margin. Given this election's GOP-leaning turnout, 49's 57 percent "yes" vote included at least part of the Republican base. Unlike a lot of government programs, the proposition is without the usual built-in COLAs (cost of living increases) that help keep programs growing automatically, regardless of their efficacy. And local schools or school districts wanting to dip into the state funds must find a local match, thereby giving them a stake in the operation and success of the program. Time will tell if 49 delivers as promised.

The state political media widely and loudly proclaimed the Prop. 49 campaign a "sneak preview" of a 2006 Schwarzenegger for Governor run. Mr. Gorton's protestations that Schwarzenegger is not running aside, the media spin seems right. If it is, what are conservatives to make of it? What do we know or not know about the Austrian Oak that should give us pause or hope when considering his potential candidacy. *CPR* offers the following "Two Views of Arnold Schwarzenegger" to begin answering those questions. CPR

My own feeling about Schwarzenegger on social issues is that he is not a committed or even instinctive liberal, or someone trying to be "cute" and play dodge ball. Rather, he is a potential candidate who has not had to confront these issues. Those of us immersed in politics 24/7 should remind ourselves that most people think about politics every two years, and then only briefly. A non-politician or first-time candidate with unformed views on many issues can be worrisome to political animals. But it is not necessarily a sign that liberal views will finally emerge. I've dealt with many potential candidates who were where Schwarzenegger is now. Sometimes they ended up going left and sometimes right. In this case, four years from an election, it is unfair to play Nostradamus. Cut the guy some slack.

Another point of conservative concern is the "Wilson factor." Do Gorton, *et. al.'s* Wilson credentials presage another anti-conservative *jihad* should Schwarzenegger be nominated or elected? In answer, let me take a brief detour. About a month ago I had dinner with a California political columnist and PR specialist I had met before only in passing. We had been readers and admirers of each other's prose, had mutual friends, and so finally decided to get together. During dinner he described himself as a "Wilson Republican." Intrigued, I asked him to define exactly what he meant by that. At the end of the explanation it was clear we had few differences on issues. His self-description had much more to do with "attitude" and "presentation" than it did with any non-conservative philosophical positions. We weren't in perfect sync (actually only God and I are ... ahem), but the differences were mainly in nuance. I'd put our issue agreement in the 95 percent range.

This reinforced something I've believed for some years regarding GOP internecine warfare. It's mostly about who's "in" and who's "out" — not ideas. Both sides use philosophy to justify the battles, too embarrassed to admit the uproar is really about personalities or ambition. Here's my proposition. Let the "moderate" and "conservative" factions each pick 20 people they know faithfully represent their views. Give these 40 folks a quiz on issues: say 25 to 50 questions. I predict the answers from both groups would be identical 90 to 95 percent of the time. Would serious, important differences still exist? Yes. Do those issues deserve debate or even a fight? Yes. Are serious differences on five percent of issues worth the angst, anger, and agony we go through about them? You do the math.

The moral of my story above is not that anyone ought to abandon deeply-held philosophical positions. It is that folks marked with the scarlet "W" need not automatically strike fear and loathing into conservative hearts, any more than we should for them. I'm not proposing we all join hands and sing "Kumbaya" or that we pretend differences — some important enough to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fight over — didn't, don't, and won't exist. But I am proposing that we all take each other at face value, at least until proven wrong. That, specifically, means not rejecting a potential Schwarzenegger candidacy out of hand because of his political handlers' past associations. I know that one of the Legislature's most conservative, thoughtful members (a veteran of many conservative/Wilson battles) thinks Gorton is the best consultant/manager currently laboring in the GOP vineyards, and sees no reason for alarm. Ronald Reagan's famous motto about dealing with the Soviet Union was "trust, but verify." We certainly owe Schwarzenegger and his Gorton-led team at least that much latitude for awhile.

Potential pluses: start with money and personality. Internet references talk of Schwarzenegger earning "hundreds of millions" of dollars since *Terminator,* reportedly $30 million for *Terminator 3.* Arnold clearly can self-finance, guaranteeing a smooth-running campaign, at least in its finances, if he is prepared to commit dollars early and stick to a contribution plan. Self-financed statewide candidates have a poor record in California, from Norton Simon (challenging Senator George Murphy in the 1970 GOP primary) through Al Checchi and Jane Harmon to Bill Simon. But that's a feather on the scales beside the advantage of a candidate willing to open a deep checkbook.

On the personality front, reading all those "Google" articles gave me, besides astigmatism, a clear impression of a man almost universally liked. The conservative *Weekly Standard* ran an effusive article on its reporter's Prop. 49 campaign travel with Schwarzenegger. It told of a local sheriff saying that when Gray Davis and Bill Simon passed through, few people poked their heads outside their offices, but that Schwarzenegger was mobbed everywhere by cops, secretaries, and random

passers-by. Another Internet piece says Schwarzenegger was met in Bosnia by U.S. troops chanting "Arnold, Arnold." Beyond mere fame, Schwarzenegger leaves virtually everyone with the impression: "This is a genuinely nice person." It's not yet "charisma," but clearly could become wide, serious political appeal.

Given Schwarzenegger's biography, it's no surprise there's little there on red meat political issues. But for every potential conservative "area of concern," one or more positives exist. *Salon.com* reported that Schwarzenegger's "most admired current politicians" are President Bush, Senator Orrin Hatch, and New York Governor George Pataki — an interesting potpourri, certainly not indicating a liberal or even moderate mind set. He campaigned for Reagan, and recently unveiled a larger-than-life bronze bust of The Gipper that he commissioned and gave to The Reagan Library. A Reagan bust resides in Schwarzenegger's private office.

He says he is "gung-ho on the American dream." Body building, becoming and staying successful in Hollywood mean hard work, sacrifice, dedication to a goal, all eventually paying off. The Internet quotes him saying, "The mind is your only limit. As long as the mind can envision the fact that you can do something, you can do it, as long as you really believe 100 percent." American Dream 101, yes? How often do Hollywood personalities express it? Can you imagine Barbra Streisand or Alex Baldwin having, much less speaking, such thoughts? How about either of them or Martin Sheen doing a USO tour in Bosnia as Schwarzenegger did? Or hosting a Ducks Unlimited celebrity shooting event (where they shot clay pigeons, not celebrities) as he did at a Hawaii gun club? Another Internet quote: "Every good idea that was ever done came from a grassroots organization or one person. They started there. It grew, then the government heard about it and started in. Things have to start at the local level. It can't be started out at the federal level and trickle down" — not sentiments to arouse conservative alarm.

Schwarzenegger's been married 16 years to Maria Shriver without a whisper of scandal. He says "Family has always been the basic foundation of everything," and when not traveling insists on his four children, wife, and he sitting down to dinner together. He has been close friends with the Crystal Cathedral's Rev. Robert Schuller since contacting him 20 years ago after watching Schuller's "Hour of Power" broadcast. Schwarzenegger calls Schuller one of his heroes; Schuller calls Schwarzenegger a "strong man with a big heart."

So: four years out, we have a work in progress. Movie commitments preclude full-time politics, but Gorton will no doubt develop Arnold's political profile a bit at a time. Expect a very visible role in Bush's reelection campaign, and don't be surprised if an "exploratory committee" appears sometime early in 2003.

Other, more doctrinaire and familiar conservative candidates may emerge. Schwarzenegger, yet to see the muck and manure of statewide campaigns, may not run

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at all. When his idea profile fills out, he may turn out to be unacceptable to conservatives. But for now, while we know enough about Schwarzenegger's views and political infrastructure to raise some legitimate concerns, we also see bright spots. I think this glass is half full, perhaps substantially more than half full. CPR

Two Views of Schwarzenegger

Please, not another coronation

John Kurzweil

The final ballots were not yet counted in the 2002 general election before Arnold Schwarzenegger's name was heard bandied around, especially among political journalists — a group including notably few Republicans — as the Grand Old Party's wisest, most logical choice for gubernatorial nominee in 2006. Free advice from the major, liberal media to Republicans about how to restore their Party and whom they should choose as candidates qualifies as among the least trustworthy gifts given since the Greeks left that horse behind them at the gates of Troy. One major media specialty is closing down thoughtful discussion by creating false impressions of inevitability about coming events. Bill Simon's candidacy was pronounced DOA over and over, only to be followed by surprise at election day results showing he finished within striking distance of Davis. Now we are likely to see a media theme, with variations, on the inevitability of Schwarzenegger. Republicans will be wise to ignore it if it comes.

Whatever course the Schwarzenegger phenomenon follows, the last thing California Republicans need is another Pete Wilson/Dan Lungren-style coronation. The trouble with these bandwagon affairs, especially at the top of the ticket, is that they tend to give the serious purposes for which parties exist — to influence the political direction of the state — short shrift. Issues tend to be lost in the shuffle, as the partisans fall over one another talking about the necessity of "winning" above all else. But the relevant question is: win what?

As I wrote after November 5 on *CPR Online,* candidacies built mostly around particular individuals with little regard to issues "ignore the basic dynamic of partisan politics: the contract between a Party and its voters. As in any agreement, the two sides come together with something to offer and something they want to trade for. A Party offers power (if it wins elections) and asks for votes in return; the people offer their votes and ask in return that political power be used to serve their interests.

"But since at least the beginning of the 1990s, California's GOP has asked for votes while telling its own base constituencies that the uses they want to see power serve are foolish or impossible, and telling the rest of the state that their votes will serve the uninspiring purposes of catapulting certain Republican office holders up their career ladders while doing little or nothing substantial to influence the state's political direction, save perhaps to slow its momentum toward liberal objectives — tinkering with welfare, maybe, or less rapid expansion of state spending and bureaucratic control over day-to-day life, but never a real shift in the overall course."

This is the unpleasant context in which Mr. Schwarzenegger's potential candidacy arises. He arrives with the obvious advantages of fame and ample fortune, both necessities of political success, but with little or nothing to offer regarding the *first* necessity, *i.e.,* a plausible program for forwarding the interests of voters unhappy with Democrat rule. He seems to promise GOP political professionals a bright prospect of returning to the state's political center stage, but what does he offer ordinary Californians? About the best that can be said is that we don't really know what he offers.

He is quoted saying he supports mainline Democrat positions on the most controversial social issues, but seems to do so with little passion, or, perhaps, not really at all, not having thought through much of it. His one direct foray into politics is an initiative — this year's Proposition 49 — that subscribes to the liberal idea of government as a source of power for achieving policy objectives, not the conservative proposition that governments are instituted to secure unalienable rights. But, in fairness, because he has done nothing more in politics than that except campaign for Ronald Reagan and George Bush I and II, it is certainly a stretch to say anyone knows from the record much about Mr. Schwarzenegger's idea of government's proper role, or even whether he has any coherent, guiding idea about it at all.

The point is not that we must insist upon political

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

philosophers as candidates, but that a candidate who arrives with no solid ideas about the political direction the state should follow is in danger of reacting to political pressure like a weather vane in a strong wind.

What can such a candidate offer ordinary voters when their interests are threatened by the noisy, belligerent demands of voracious government and its clients in the left's various weird, power-grabbing coalitions? The little we've seen of Mr. Schwarzenegger in action is hardly reassuring. Despite his Republicans registration, he seems comfortable falling in with fashionable Democrat dogma on key issues, and not so much because he actually believes the dogma is right, but because, evidently, he sees no compelling reason to go to the trouble of finding out whether it is right or not.

The Republican label sells poorly in California, but not conservative positions, as attested by focus groups, polling, and such ballot measures as the Defense of Marriage, California Civil Rights, and English for the Children initiatives. The problem is that the word "Republican" is not associated in voters' minds with conservative principles but too often with hot air, self-promotion, and small interest in upsetting Democrat control of policy. How does a Schwarzenegger candidacy address that?

The state GOP has a huge job ahead in learning how to replicate throughout California (especially in LA County) the effective work done by local GOP operatives in San Diego County and the upper San Joaquin Valley that contributed decisively to the Party's dramatic legislative victories in the 78th and 80th Assembly and the 12th state Senate Districts. Republican activists in those areas concentrated on the mechanical nuts and bolts of politics — voter registration, precinct organizing, get-out-the-vote, coordination with local GOP elected officials, and fund raising. They gave up the destructive habit some Party leaders had formed of trying to dictate issue positions to the people from the top down, attending instead to building a political machine capable of represent voters' interests effectively.

But Republicans in coronation mode tend to ignore ordinary voters' demands that their issues be addressed. "Just win baby" becomes the motto, and worry about governing later. But later never seems to come. The concerns for which thousands of volunteers and millions of voters gave what they could to the Republican Party never quite make it off the back burner. What should have been the means to serve those interests — acquiring political power — has moved in to become an end in itself, and refuses to retire according to plan.

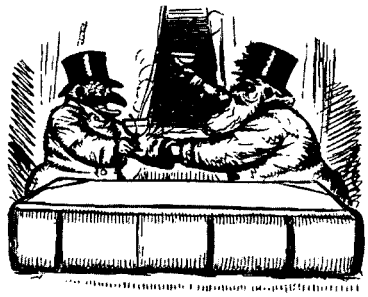
Our liberal friends in the media and the Democrat Party know that effectively representing ordinary Californians is the key to GOP resurgence here. That is why they ceaselessly lobby Republicans to abandon the Party's traditional support of tax payers, property owners, gun owners, unborn babies, advocates of religious freedom and of limited government — all the liberal establishment's most aggrieved victims, the people most determined to end Democrat rule. By pushing issues — real people's real-life concerns — to the back burner, coronation mode plays into liberals' hands.

Republicans should welcome Mr. Schwarzenegger's interest in a possible run for governor, but pay him the respect due any serious candidate by demanding thought-out positions on real issues. Primarily, they should demand that his purpose in running be to make a difference in office for them, and explain how he will do it. And they should look for a variety of other candidates. The opposite of a coronation is a careful, thorough, long look at all potential alternatives. The best way to facilitate that is through a contested Primary, with a lively clash of ideas, personalities, and leadership styles testing the candidates against one another and against the buffeting of the political world. Pete Wilson was a better governor for having been challenged by Ron Unz in 1994. Lungren would have been either much improved or eliminated by a thorough Primary testing before the 1998 General.

In 2002, the media set out to stage another GOP gubernatorial coronation, anointing Dick Riordan so thoroughly that everyone (except GOP voters) forgot he still had to be nominated. He ran a Democrat General Election campaign in a Republican Primary and collapsed. No, the Primary contest did not prevent the mistakes of Simon's fall campaign, but it exposed Riordan's manifest weaknesses in March rather than in the fall (and no, Republicans did not reject Riordan because Gray Davis told them to; they did so because they saw he had no interest in representing *them).* Contested Primaries won't restore GOP fortunes by themselves, but they move the Party in the right direction.

A Schwarzenegger candidacy could conceivably evolve into a substantial and healthy political movement revitalizing the state Republican Party. It could also reintroduce the confusions of means and ends and divisions between Party leaders and the GOP base that has plagued the Party, fueling civil war, for more than 10 years. Any effort to "clear the field" of potential challengers will be a bad sign. A good sign would be an early, overt effort by Mr. Schwarzenegger, should he become a candidate, to assert his common cause with the Party's, and California's, grass roots. But perhaps the best sign of all would simply be a series of George Skelton *LA Times* columns telling us how terrible a nominee The Terminator would make. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CRITICUS

The Criticus Calendar

BY G. B. TENNYSON

Who can number the sands of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?

— Ecclesiasticus

IT WAS not just that on Labor Day 2002, which fell on the very first day of September, Criticus wambled into a local chain drugstore and found the place festooned with Hallowe'en decorations and candies. And it was not just that in the following week he made his way into what newscasters like to call a "big box store" and found it awash in Christmas decorations. And it was not just that by Guy Fawkes Day ("Please to remember the Fifth of November") Criticus encountered outdoor Christmas trees and wreaths sprouting at the entrances to shopping malls, grocery stores, and automobile dealerships. It was that these seasonal affronts awakened an only partially dormant *bête noire* who roared into the Critical ear: "They are debasing the calendar!" By this the bellowing voice meant not merely the relentless secularization of religious days, but also the elevation of purely secular days to religious status. Criticus knew then that something had to be done.

As Constant Readers know, Criticus has a more than passing interest in the calendar. He fumed when they celebrated the beginning of the third millennium on January 1, 2000, it being obvious — or it should have been — to every schoolboy that that date marked the beginning of the *last* year of the second millennium. He even grumbled that all of the millennial celebrations were late, some up to four years, but he was willing to overlook the fact that Christ was probably born in 4 B.C., so entrenched had the 1 A.D. date become in western calculations. But, getting one's millennia straight is the least of the matters that has aroused Critical ire over the years. It is what has been and is being done to the specific days of the year that under an ideal rule, *i.e.,* one in which Criticus is Imperator Maximus, would be capital offenses for which perpetrators would have the choice of being drawn and quartered or garroted — and in the public square.

TO UNDERSTAND the high seriousness of all this, we need a brief history lesson. The calendar as we know it is a Christian creation. Yes, of course, modes of keeping track of things long preceded Christianity and were in use in virtually all early societies. The Christian calendar derives from the Roman one, which in turn derived from the Egyptian. The word *calendar* comes from the Roman *Kalends,* the first day of the month and the day on which bills were to be paid. As with the present calendar that we know, earlier ones were either solar or lunar or sometimes a combination. That is to say, all were based on the

G. B. Tennyson, amateur calendariographer, is one who know that "they are not long, the days of wine and roses."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement of the seasons as defined by the sun or the passage of time as defined by phases of the moon. The Jewish calendar is a lunar-solar one, the Muslim calendar entirely lunar, which is why Ramadan can pop up at almost any time of year. What Christianity did was to take over the mainly solar Roman calendar, fixing the months and days to accommodate the cycle of the solar year. That being somewhat less than even, leap years had to be inserted to keep the calendar in harmony with the sun. Even that, after a time, needed adjustment, which is why the Gregorian calendar had to be adopted to make up for the days behind that the Julian calendar was subject to.

THE GREGORIAN calendar, advocated by Pope Gregory the Great (feast day, 12 March), aligned the old Julian calendar more closely with the solar year by dropping ten days. It was adopted in Catholic countries in 1582, but more gradually in Protestant countries and resisted in England until 1752, by which time eleven days had to be omitted. Thus George Washington was born on 11 February o.s. (old style) but in the conversion year suddenly found his birthday to be 22 February, which is where it remains today, albeit now effectively unobserved because of its absorption into that vapidity called Presidents' Day.

Presidents' Day may even pass as one of the least offensive manipulations of the calendar, for it is based on patriotism and loyalty, which, after religious days of consequence, have long been staples of western calendars, though varying from country to country. But with the constant addition of secular commemorations the modern calendar has become a spectral Christian skeleton draped with a bizarre costume of largely manufactured secular observances. These in turn are being subjected more and more to political correctness. We have all heard about those nursery and elementary schools that prohibit reference to Mother's Day and Father's Day, which one might think are secular enough in themselves, on the grounds that some children lack one or the other — *i.e.,* mother or father — or perhaps have two of one and none of the other — *e.g.,* Heather and her two mommies — and will therefore feel left out. The people who run these things have even changed Secretaries' Day, itself an artificiality, to Administrative Professionals' Day in order to avoid any implication of sexism since most people think of secretaries as women. If there were a Handyman's Day, as perhaps some would advocate, it would surely by now have been changed to Handypersons' Day.

Criticus thus enters the fray with the idea of a calendar of his own. Its purpose is to purge (no Kwanzaa here), to restore (the saints come marching back), and to make new (introducing some Critical heroes). Above all, the Critical Calendar is intended to banish the banal and to stimulate thought and at times meditation on what is past and passing and to come. Idiosyncratic to be sure, but no more so than what has become the official calendar of the country. One necessary absence from an ideal calendar is the listing of movable feasts, for this present calendar is meant to be one for all seasons, not just for this year, and movable feasts by their very nature shift from year to year. They are indeed the legacy of the lunar dimension of the Hebrew calendar, and chiefly affect the springtime period from Lent to Whitsunday (Pentecost). The pious will have no difficulty inserting them annually, even without the appearance of bunnies and candy in the local shops. Secular movable feasts (Mother's Day, Father's Day, Labor Day, etc.) are also of necessity omitted, and there is no truck here with any Monday holiday transfers; the dates are the real dates so far as is known.

Apology must be made for the fact that this calendar does not encompass every day of the year. When first begun that was my intention, and there are more than enough saints and worthies to fill every day and more, but after laboring through January, February, and March (it took three days) and seeing them take up well over ninety lines, even the mathematically challenged Criticus was able, as they say, to do the numbers. He realized that accounting for every day along with all the necessary Critical preamble and postamble (yes, the word is my own coinage) would make this column run to three, four, or five times its normal length and to tax, if not the reader's patience, the editor's notoriously low tolerance for deviationism. So this is no more than the idea of a true Critical calendar, not the full thing itself. One consolation is that readers will have many free days, so to speak, to insert their own favorites, whether an overlooked saint — say, perhaps Apollonia, patroness of dentists (9 February) — or even a family member, or a dear, departed budgerigar. Criticus, to be sure, has confined his choices to saints and patriotic matters and a few favored authors, for the aim is to give uplift rather than to aid sentimentality. No sports stars, no celebrities, and not even his much loved and long departed Siberian Husky, named Pando-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ra for all the trouble she let loose. Ah, but she had the bluest eye.

Criticus's version needs a brief explanation as to symbols. These have been adopted for reasons of space, so here is the key. Entries recording the birth of someone are followed by the symbol *, *e.g.,* February 22 — 1732 George Washington *. Entries recording a death are followed by the symbol †, *e.g.,* July 16 — 1918 Czar Nicholas II and Family †. I do not use this symbol for saints, for these are normally commemorated on their death day. I use the following to describe saints: Ap. Apostle; Ab. Abbot; Ev. Evangelist; K. King; M. Martyr. Where I think a figure may not be universally known but deserving of our attention, I provide a designation; see, *e.g.,* George Herbert on 27 February. As for the symbols attached to saints, I have adopted the Greek characters Δ and Φ, meaning respectively, Δ "to be invoked against certain illnesses or afflictions" and Φ "patron (ess) of certain persons, places, activities, and trades." If I have chosen more than one commemoration for a given date, I have separated the two with a slash (/). I have placed clarifications in parentheses. Finally, comments in brackets are Critical observations and opinions.

JANUARY

From the Latin *Januarius,* the month of the god Janus, the doorkeeper of heaven, guardian of doors and gates, presiding over the entrance or beginnings of things, represented with a face on the front and another on the back of his head, thus looking both before and after.

1 — New Year's Day / The Holy Name

2 — Melchior (gold) / 4th c. S. Basil the Great, Doctor of the Church

3 — Caspar (frankincense) / 6th c. S. Genevieve (Φ Paris; Δ drought, fever, floods, plague)

4 — Balthasar (myrrh) / 1821 S. Elizabeth Seton, first North American saint

5 — Twelfth Night [the play was written for performance on this day]

6 — Epiphany — Three Kings Day

16 — 1st c. S. Priscilla (Φ widows)

19 — 1807 Robert E. Lee* — Lee-Jackson Day [suited to be Φ Lost Causes]

20 — 3rd c. S. Sebastian (Φ archers) [always depicted pierced by arrows]

21 — 304 S. Agnes (Φ virgins) [see the Keats poem, "The Eve of St. Agnes"]

28 — 13th c. S. Thomas Aquinas (Φ pencil makers [!], students, theologians)

30 — 1649 Charles I, K. & M. [beheaded on this day by Cromwellians]

FEBRUARY

From *Februarius,* a word of Sabine origin signifying purification. The Roman festival of purification was held on the first of this month. Compare with Candlemas.

2 — Candlemas, Feast of the Purification [all candles for the year are consecrated today]

3 — 316 S. Blaise (Φ sick cattle, wool combers; Δ throat disease, wild animals)

6 — 1911 Ronald Reagan* [the longest-lived American president]

11 — c. 670 Caedmon, Anglo-Saxon (Old English) poet, author of "Caedmon's Hymn"

12 — S. Julian the Hospitaler (Φ boaters, circus performers, innkeepers, travellers)

21 — 11th c. S. Peter Damian (Δ headache) / 1801 John Henry Newman*

22 — 1732 George Washington*

27 — 1633 George Herbert †, Anglican Priest [greatest religious poet in English]

MARCH

Named after Mars. In the pre-Julian Roman calendar this was the first month of the year, and even in the Christian calendar through the middle ages the new year was held to begin on Lady Day, 25 March, both as tribute to the Virgin Mary and as approximating the time of the vernal equinox and the arrival of spring.

1 — c. 544 S. David (Φ Wales, poets)

6 — 1836 The Fall of the Alamo [remember it!]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

8 — 1550 S. John of God (Φ booksellers, printers; Δ alcoholism)

9 — 15th c. S. Catherine of Bologna (Φ artists)

19 — S. Joseph (Φ fathers; Δ doubt)

20 — 7th c. S. Cuthbert (Φ sailors) [I know not why, as he was a monk]

25 — Feast of the Annunciation — Lady Day

APRIL

From the Latin, probably from the verb *aperire,* to open, begin.

1 — All Fools' Day / Dwarf Tossing Day

3 — 4th c. S. Irene (Φ peace)

4 — 5th-6th c. S. Isidore of Seville (compiler of the first encyclopedia)

21 — 1109 S. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor of the Church

23 — 303 S. George (Φ England) / 1564 William Shakespeare* (also 1616 †)

25 — S. Mark, Ev. (Φ Venice)

26 — Arbor Day [hug a tree!]

MAY

Latin *Maius,* probably from Maia, the goddess of growth and increase.

2 — 373 S. Athanasius [Athanasian Creed named after him, not written by him]

3 — 1st c. S. Philip and S. James the Less, Ap.

14 — 1st. c. S. Matthias, Ap. (Δ alcoholism) [cf. S. John of God, March 8, — some need both!]

15 — 6th c. S. Dymphna (Φ asylums, mental health workers)

16 — 6th c. S. Brendan (Φ Ireland, sailors)

23 — 7th c. S. Didier (Δ perjury) [Clintoniacs, take note]

24 — 1st c. S. Sara (Φ gypsies) [gypsies were first remarked upon much later]

29 — 12th c. S. Bona (Φ flight attendants) [how did they decide *that?]*

30 — Decoration Day (*aka* Memorial Day)

JUNE

Named from the Roman *Junius,* a clan name akin to *juvenis,* young.

1 — c. 167 S. Justin Martyr

5 — 754 S. Boniface, M., missionary to Germany (Φ Prussia, brewers) [well chosen]

11 — S. Barnabas, Ap., M. (Φ Cyprus, harvests)

13 — 1231 S. Anthony of Padua, Priest, Confessor, Doctor (Δ lost objects)

15 — 4th c. S. Vitus (Φ Sicily, dancers; Δ snakebite, over-sleeping)

22 — c. 304 S. Alban, First Martyr of Britain / 1558 S. Thomas More, M.

24 — Nativity of S. John the Baptist

29 — SS. Peter and Paul, Ap.

JULY

Named by Mark Anthony in honor of Julius Caesar, who had instituted the Julian calendar in 46 BC. July replaced *Quintilis,* the fifth month of the year beginning in March.

3 — S. Thomas, Ap. (the "Doubting" one)

4 — U.S. Independence Day

11 — c, 540 S. Benedict of Nursia, Patriarch of Western monasticism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

13 — 100 BC — Julius Caesar* / S. Silas, M

16 — 1918 Czar Nicholas II and family†

22 — S. Mary Magdalene (Φ fallen women, colleges at Oxford and Cambridge)

25 — S. James the Greater, Ap.

26 — Anne, Mother of B.V.M. (Φ housewives, grandmothers)

29 — Mary and Martha of Bethany

AUGUST

In 8 BC the month *Sextilis,* the sixth month of the year beginning in March, was changed to August in honor of Augustus, the first Roman emperor. With the shift of the new year to January all following months were pushed back by two.

1 — Joseph of Arimathea / Lammas Day (when first fruits of the harvest were offered)

4 — 1790 U.S. Coast Guard established

5 — 1809 Alfred, Lord Tennyson* [the finest ear of any poet in the English language]

6 — Feast of the Transfiguration

15 — Feast of the Assumption of B.V.M.

20 — 1153 S. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ab., founder of the Cistercian Order

24 — S. Bartholomew. Ap.

28 — S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (author of the *Confessions)*

29 — The Beheading of S. John the Baptist

SEPTEMBER

From the Latin *septem,* seven, and formerly the seventh month of the year beginning in March. Displaced to the ninth month without change of name by the introduction of July and August.

2 — 31 BC Battle of Actium / 1945 VJ Day

11 — 1683 Turks repulsed at gates of Vienna / 2001 Muslims attack New York City

14 — Holy Cross Day / 1814 Francis Scott Key writes "Star Spangled Banner"

17 — 1787 U.S. Constitution approved / 1862 Battle of Sharpsburg (Antietam)

18 — 1947 U.S. Air Force established

21 — S. Matthew, Ap., Ev.

26 — 1626 Lancelot Andrewes, Anglican Divine / 1888 T.S. Eliot*

28 — 929 S. Wenceslaus, Duke and M. [*i.e.,* Good King Wenceslaus of the carol]

29 — S. Michael and All Angels [Michael is the warrior Archangel]

OCTOBER

From the Latin *octo,* eight, and formerly the eighth month of the year beginning in March.

2 — Feast of the Holy Guardian Angels [remember yours on this day]

7 — 1571 Battle of Lepanto, naval defeat of the Turks by the West

13 — 1066 Edward the Confessor, K. / 1775 U.S. Navy established

15 — 1582 S. Theresa of Avila, mystic and founder of the discalced Carmelites

18 — S. Luke, Ev.

21 — 3rd or 5th c. S. Ursula and the 11,000 [sic] virgins (Φ students, universities [!])

24 — Archangel Raphael (Φ happy travellers) [does that include campers?]

28 — SS Simon and Jude, Ap. (Φ hopeless cases)

31 — All Hallows' Eve (*i.e.,* the Eve of All Saints)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOVEMBER

From Latin *novem,* nine, the ninth month of the year beginning in March.

1 — All Saints Day (includes saints known but to God)

2 — All Souls Day (feast of the faithful departed awaiting entry into Heaven)

5 — S. Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist (Φ pregnant women)

9 — 1898 Owen Barfield* [see Criticus's *A Barfield Reader]*

10 — 1775 U.S. Marine Corps established

11 — 1918 Armistice Day (now Veteran's Day) [but where have all the poppies gone?]

21 — National Smokers Day [American Indians can be the collective Patron]

25 — 3rd c. S. Catherine martyred on the "Catherine Wheel" (Φ maidens, philosophers)

29 — 1898 C.S. Lewis* [known to his friends as Jack]

30 — S. Andrew, Ap. (Φ Scotland)

DECEMBER

From Latin *decem,* ten, when it was the tenth month of the year beginning in March.

4 — 1795 Thomas Carlyle*, essayist and historian

6 — C. 342 S. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra (*aka* Santa Claus)

7 — 1941 Japanese Attack Pearl Harbor, hence Pearl Harbor Day

13 — 304 S. Lucy, M. (Φ lamplighters, gondoliers) [a curious linkage]

17 — Lazarus raised from the dead (Φ lepers) [have you ever heard a leper's bell?]

25 — Feast of the Nativity (*aka* Christmas)

26 — 34 S. Stephen, Protomartyr, stoned to death

27 — S. John, Ap, Ev. (*aka* S. John the Divine)

28 — The Holy Innocents (children slaughtered by Herod)

If readers think Criticus has been too arbitrary and self-indulgent, let me plead those exigencies of space that I already referred to. Moreover, there is more restoration than innovation here. I reluctantly abided with the months as we know them today while pointing out the haphazard way in which the Romans got their names and positions out of sequence. Even at that, the Romans were rather conservative. Others have gone much farther in shaping the calendar to their own liking. Consider the consequences of the French Revolution when the days were shifted and all the months renamed, sometimes, admittedly, more poetically than simply calling a month the seventh, eighth, or ninth, especially when they are now ninth, tenth, and eleventh. These, for example, became *fructidor* (month of fruits), *vendémiaire* (time of vintage), and *brumaire* (fog month). Of course the French intent was to wipe out and/or rewrite the past, as is, in my view, the intent of those among us now who are trampling on the traditional calendar. These are the folk who glorify secular days and secularize religious ones, and who refer to dates as being C.E. (common era) rather than A.D. *(Anno Domini).*

The prize, however, in recent times goes to one Saparamurat Niyazov, President for Life of Turkmenistan. In September of 2002 he and his obedient legislature renamed all the months of the year in honor of national heroes and symbols, beginning with January, which he renamed after his own popular moniker of Turkmenbashi ("leader of all Turkmen"), and including April, renamed after his mother, and September, renamed after a book of his own authorship. Not content with that, he also designed a new system for dividing up the ages of his people as follows: "childhood" is from birth to age 13; "adolescence" to the age of 25; "youth," to age 37; the "age of inspiration" to 73; the age of "white-bearded elder" to 85; "old age" to 97; and finally the "age of Oguz Khan," (he was an ancient ruler of the Turkmen) which carries one from 97 to 109. There is no record that the Leader of all Turkmen designed any name for the age reached by that cigarette-smoking, wine-drinking Frenchwoman who gave up the ghost a year or so ago at the age of 121.

Considering all of the foregoing, Criticus must be counted as very restrained, albeit a bit quixotic. If it does nothing else, the Criticus Calendar should inspire — or annoy — readers enough to make them question the existing official calendar and say "Bah, Humbug" the next time our *biens pensants* decide to reshape it. Be on guard especially for the movement to make "Juneteenth" a national holiday, and the one to require observance of "Eid" whenever it falls, and the one to change Christmas to Winter Festival Day, and ... well, you can fill in the rest. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A window into a great man's soul

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO

AN OLD Italian saying, roughly translated, advises us to "Spend an evening in a man's home and you've spent an evening in his heart and soul."

If you want to spend some time in Ronald Reagan's heart and soul, visit the Reagan Ranch in Santa Barbara. If you can't do that, the next best thing is reading Peter Hannaford's new book *Ronald Reagan and his Ranch.*

Hannaford, a long-time intimate of Reagan's dating from Sacramento days, has put together a charming, warm, and thoroughly engrossing look at Ron and Nancy Reagan's "Ranch in the Sky," *Rancho del Cielo.* It is short — 116 pages — and written in an approachable, conversational style, but is chock full of fascinating details about the ranch and insights into its most famous residents.

The Reagans, who owned ranches previously in Northridge and Malibu, began looking for a rustic retreat when his second gubernatorial term approached its conclusion. Ending up in Santa Barbara was actually something of an accident. A San Diego County site was first selected and purchased, but the sale fell through. As Hannaford's book recounts however, one look at *del Cielo* was all it took for the soon-to-be ex-governor to fall in love with it. The purchase was finalized in 1973.

From the time Reagan left Sacramento in January of '75, through his becoming Republican nominee for president in July 1980, the man who would eventually free the world from the communist malignancy spent every free moment at his ranch, mainly performing manual labor. Whether it was the brush clearing and wood chopping that became famous during his presidency, or re-roofing, fence building, and lake expanding, Reagan kept fit — physically, mentally, and psychologically — by applying what he called "good, old-fashioned elbow grease" to the ranch.

Ronald Reagan and His Ranch

by Peter Hannaford

Images From the Past, Bennington, Vermont, 2002, 116 pages, $24.95, cloth.

Before, during, and after his presidency, Reagan worked the ranch because he liked to. It was second nature to him, and was never for show or for reporters. Our most genuine of modern presidents was most relaxed and himself partaking of a practice as old as the Jamestown colony: working the land.

The ranch also permitted him to indulge his life-long love of riding horses. "There's nothing as good for the inside of a man as the outside of a horse," he said. His Northridge and Malibu ranches had served mainly for breeding horses; Reagan rode one of his Malibu horses in the 1953 hit movie *Law and Order.* A wonderful poster from that film made the rounds during the 1966 governor's campaign showing Reagan in cowboy garb with guns drawn, ready to take on the bad guys — a look into America's future, as it turned out, as well as its past. In the years ahead, the world's worst bad guys and outlaws would fare no differently facing Reagan than had his movie villains. The good guy won at the end.

WHEN REAGAN became leader of the free world, the ranch saw many historic moments. Most famous, probably, is the signing of the 1981 tax cut measure that set off a wave of national prosperity out-lasting Reagan's presidency. The table on which that bill was signed can still be seen at the ranch. *Rancho del Cielo* was also the scene of a hu-

William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *editorial board.*

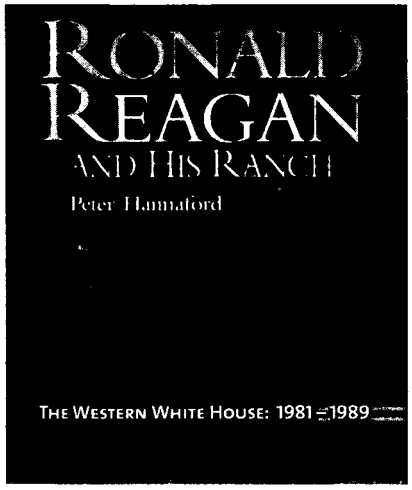
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morous Reagan gaffe that occurred while the president prepared for one of his weekly radio addresses. Doing his usual, impromptu "mike check" into what he thought was a dead microphone, the leader of the free world ad-libbed that he "had outlawed the Soviet Union. We begin bombing in five minutes."

ALTHOUGH *DEL CIELO* was both a working ranch and a working "Western White House," either a visit or a reading of Hannaford's book leaves no doubt that Reagan saw the ranch primarily as a retreat from "D.C. life." Hannaford says he could tell the president had been away too long whenever he saw "that ranch look" in his eyes.

Ronald Reagan and His Ranch, combining Hannaford's evocative text with several pages of wonderful photographs, conveys a feel for the land, its owner, and the symbiosis binding them together. I've been lucky enough to visit the ranch, and can say Hannaford faithfully and movingly captures its heart and soul and the heart and soul of its owner. Visitors may be surprised at how small the living quarters actually are. Hannaford describes the modest interior of the main house, mentioning the feature that most caught my eye during my visit, the book shelves, or, rather, what was on them: a huge collection of books representing a wide variety of disciplines — philosophy, history, western novels, American Indian art — in this "real" Reagan library. It is clear that Reagan did not buy "books by the yard" — these tomes bear the marks of much use.

Personally, I got a kick out of seeing that *Ronaldus Magnus* and I actually had some of the same titles in our homes. His shelves were bulging with conservative philosophy from the Conservative Book Club: Frank Meyer, Willmoore Kendall, Bill Buckley — the giants who built America's post-war conservative intellectual/political movement — who laid the groundwork for Reagan's presidency and the continuing worldwide return to freedom that it launched. Also there was Churchill's *A History of the English Speaking People.* Western author Zane Grey was well represented. The shelves of the ranch are not the library of an unlettered or shallow mind.



The Hannaford book's generous selection of photos confirm that this was a solid, all American, working ranch. There is the famous photo of Reagan atop his white Arabian horse "El Alamein." This wonderful shot shows "The President" at the height of his prowess and command — command of America, of the world, and of the hearts of his countrymen. But my favorite is a photo of Reagan "taking a break from chopping wood." Leaning against a fence, he is wearing a battered old baseball cap whose brow reads: "Rancho del Cielo Cavalry Commander." The photo shows a man blissfully happy, clearly content and at peace with himself, his surroundings, and his place in the world. Hannaford includes a "Post Script" in which William P. Clark, who served under Reagan in several major posts, says Reagan once called this patch of California his "open cathedral" where "he'd come out of the house and look at the sky and not say a word. The Great Communicator didn't talk a lot in those circumstances. Many don't understand that, but he would just look about him with that great grin."

A major portion of credit for preserving this vital part of the Reagan legacy belongs to Young America's Foundation (YAF). When the Reagans put the ranch up for sale in 1997, it appeared for a while it might go to a buyer who would allow its place in history to be forgotten. YAF, led by its President Ron Robinson, rode to the rescue. My own *Rancho del Cielo* visit occurred courtesy of a long-time comrade-in-arms in conservative political battles, YAF board member Jim Lacy. All of us who cherish the Reagan legacy owe Ron, Jim, and their fellow YAF board members and contributors a large debt of gratitude. (Detailed information on *Rancho del Cielo,* and about YAF, is available at: *www.reaganranch.org.*)

WOULD-BE REAGAN biographer Edmund Morris spent 672 pages in *Dutch* dithering and wandering around in a desperate search for the essence of Ronald Reagan, finally admitting he was could not find the "real" man. Too bad for Mr. Morris. The "real" Ronald Reagan was self-evident. He wore his heart and soul out where all could see them. Had Morris found a way to open his eyes, he could quickly have discovered Reagan's "real" man by spending "an evening in [the] man's home ... an evening in his heart and soul." However, though the "official" biographer couldn't find it, you can. Pick up a copy of *Ronald Reagan and his Ranch.* CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Read Capitol Watch ...
Every Friday

CPR's timely, quick-reading weekly edition
e-mailed directly to you

Now included in every *California Political Review* subscription, Capitol Watch — the perfect *CPR* companion — appears first-thing Fridays, covering events up to the night before. Never more than one page, *CW* is always a quick read, but packed with information. As one busy executive said: "I pick up *Capitol Watch* with my morning coffee and, by the time I reach my desk, I've read it."

3-Month *CPR-CW* Trial Subscription

12 issues of Capitol Watch and **two issues** of *California Political Review*

Just $5.95!

3 ways to order: **1)** Visit our website: **www.cppf.org** or **2)** Call: **1-800-887-7676** or **3)** Mail this form to the address below

Name _____ Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ E-Mail Address (**REQUIRED to receive Capitol Watch**): _____

Check enclosed (payable to California Public Policy Foundation): ___ Credit Card: MC ___ Visa ___ Exp. Date _____

Credit Card # _____ Signature _____

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931, *www.cppf.org*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Monaco Group

Campaign and Fund-raising Direct Mail and Print Production Services

Printing • Personalization • Mailing
Graphic Design • Collateral Materials
Promotional Items • Data Services

INCLUDING

Absentee Ballots • Slate & Initiative Mailings
Campaign & Fund-raising Mailings
Self Mailer & Walk Pieces
Statewide Voter Files

The Monaco Group

1000 Ortega Way • Building C • Placentia, CA 92870
Tel: 714 630-5180 • Fax: 714 630-5187
www.monacogroup.com • e-mail

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED